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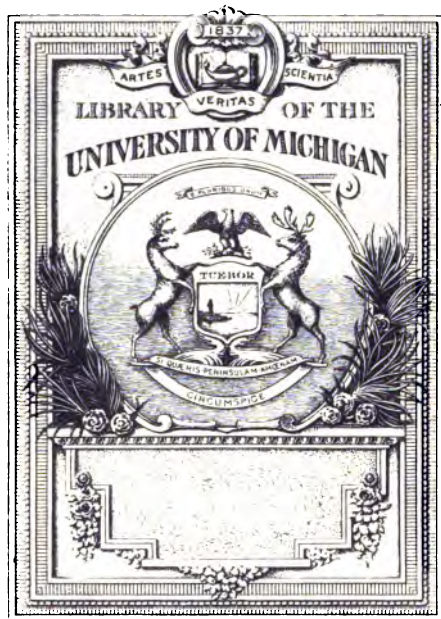
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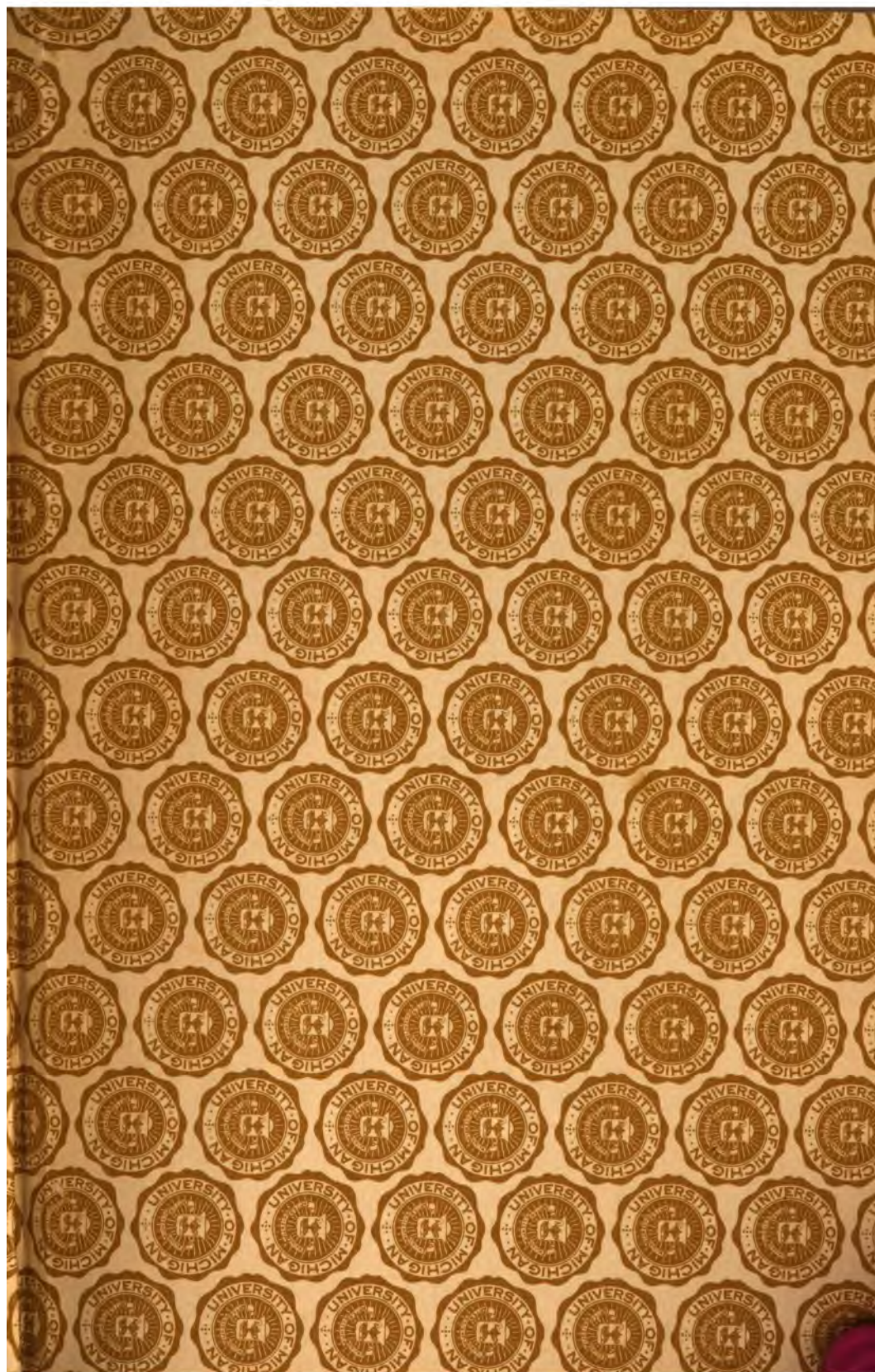
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INTRODUCTION.

THE YEAR'S WORK.

The past year in retrospection presents an even record of faithful work and steady growth. The monthly meetings have been held regularly; the papers have been of uniform interest, many of them drawn from personal memory or from family archives, showing that the Society has at last touched those vital authoritative sources in making connection with past history, a consummation for which it has been patiently hoping and waiting many years. Outstanding among the events to be recorded with thanksgiving is the publication by the Society of a quarterly, an undertaking that has been made possible by the gracious act of the Legislature, placing the official records of the Society in the Department of State Public Printing. This relieves the Society of a noticeable expense, while it insures the regular publication of an accumulation of documents of rare historical value that have been lying dead, as it were, in the Society's archives without hope of resurrection. A Committee of Publication, of which the Hon. John Dymond is chairman, has prepared the first number of the Quarterly, which will be placed in the hands of the members before these pages are printed. Of the present Annual, while no other introduction or recommendation other than a cursory glance over its contents is necessary, the Secretary cannot forbear calling particular attention to the hitherto unpublished notes on "General Wilkinson's Memorial," and "Miro's and Navarro's Dispatch, No. 13." Also, to the interesting paper, "Some Forgotten Treks," by Mr. Milner, a member of the Society, whose comprehensive study of the old highways of the country is a valuable contribution to the existing historical and geographical data, concerning the development of the Southern half of the North American continent.

The long and able report of the Corresponding Secretary, at the end of the volume, giving the facts and figures that serve as the skeleton upon which the Society's activities are moulded makes any further comment unnecessary.

GRACE KING, Secretary.

February, 1917.

MEETING OF FEBRUARY, 1916.

The Louisiana Historical Society held its regular meeting on Wednesday evening, February 6, at the Cabildo. All the officers were present. The minutes of the previous meeting were read by Miss King and approved by the Society.

Miss King then begged the attention of the Society for a few minutes while she read the report of Mr. William Price, the archivist, as to the work he had accomplished in the card indexing of the historical documents contained in the "black boxes," as they are familiarly designated, confided by the State to the custody of the Society.

The report, an able and comprehensive paper, was listened to with the extreme interest that its importance demanded. At its close an informal discussion took place among the officers of the Society, in which the discontinuance of this splendid work for want of funds was deplored, and the hope was expressed by all that the Society would not supinely submit to circumstances in so grave a matter, but make an effort to overcome them and pursue this interrupted task, which seemed almost a sacred one and is, beyond doubt, an imperative duty.

Mr. T. P. Thompson registered himself as unequivocally in favor of devoting the funds of the Society to such historical work, rather than expending them on banquets, celebrations and monumental schemes that appealed, it is true, to popular taste, but did not further the object for which the Society was founded. His words were impressive and produced a marked effect on the members.

Mr. Dymond proposed that the matter be put into the hands of the Archives Committee, and that the report read by Miss King should be printed in the forthcoming volume of the Society. The proposition was embodied in a resolution which was voted upon and unanimously carried.†

Mr. Cusachs in a few happy words presented the essayist of the evening, the Rev. Father O'Brien, as a member of the Order of Jesuits, which had contributed so nobly and heroically to the history of his country, particularly that of Louisiana.

† Note.—Published in the Annual for 1916.

Father O'Brien's paper covered the history of the founding of the Jesuit College in the Parish of St. Landry. It was replete with interesting local details and character color, and will serve as a valued reference to the future students of the early history and educational progress of the State.

The Society testified its appreciation by a vote of thanks.

Mr. Cusachs then presented to the Society an old silk flag of a Louisiana regiment. It had come into the possession of and was presented to the Society by Mr. Ed. Curtis, the once well-known auctioneer of this city, who was now living and doing business in San Francisco. The flag was gratefully accepted as a precious relic.

Mr. W. O. Hart, an indefatigable collector of historical documents and souvenirs, presented to the Museum, in the name of Mr. H. Duvalle, a quaint reminder of a well-remembered episode in the city's past. This was a printed cotton handkerchief fabricated as a souvenir of the famous Sullivan-Fitzsimmons prize fight, whose prevention in New Orleans almost caused a revolution in judicial and political circles. It was eventually held on the lake shore in Mississippi.

Mr. Duvalle also donated an old flag of the Continental Guards, a more pleasing souvenir of the city's past, which was gratefully accepted by the Society.

Mr. Hart read an excerpt from the Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, describing the banquet given in Ghent by the civic notabilities in honor of the termination of the Treaty of Ghent, on February 7, 1716, by the English and American Commission, the treaty that has insured peace between the two great English-speaking nations until this day. Mr. Hart brought also for the consideration of the Society a copy of the Times-Picayune reprinting the account of the opening of the St. Charles Hotel in New Orleans sixty-three years ago. As the hour was late, he waived the reading of it.

After the election of new members the meeting was adjourned.

SKETCH OF THE EXPULSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS FROM COLONIAL LOUISIANA

Paper read before the Louisiana Historical Society, July 21, 1915
By J. J. O'Brien, S. J.

Before coming to the subject of this paper it will be necessary to make a brief survey of the work of the Jesuits in the ancient colony of Louisiana. Some historians take for granted that the Jesuits came to the southern portion of the colony only in 1726. This is far from correct, as it is an incontrovertible fact that in 1700 the Jesuit priest, Father Paul du Rhu, accompanied Iberville on the latter's second voyage to the colony and that this same priest labored first at Biloxi (Ocean Springs), and afterward at Mobile. In 1702 Father Peter Donge, S. J., was sent to Mobile to assist Father du Rhu; and Father Joseph de Limoges, S. J., was at this period doing missionary work among the Houmas Indians, who dwelt on the east bank of the Mississippi about seven leagues above the Red River. At the end of the year 1703 the work of these three Jesuit fathers in lower Louisiana came to an abrupt close. This was brought about by the injudicious desire of the priests of the Seminary of Quebec to have an establishment at the small settlement of Mobile. In order to prevent any friction arising from the presence of two sets of missionaries in the same district, the Jesuit superiors decided to vacate the lower Louisiana field and, accordingly, recalled their subjects to France.

Three years after the founding of New Orleans (1718), the Jesuit Father, Pierre François X. Charlevoix was sent by royal authority to investigate and report on the general condition, temporal and spiritual, of the Colony of Louisiana. On his return to France and, apparently because of his report, the civil government of Louisiana was cut off from that of Canada, with which it had hitherto been united. The Company of the West, by an ordinance of May 16, 1722 (professedly approved by Bishop St. Vallier of Quebec, under whose spiritual jurisdiction Louisiana was), divided the Colony of Louisiana into three districts. New Orleans and west of the Mississippi went to the Capuchians; the Illinois country, or upper Louisiana, to the Jesuits, and the Mobile district to the Carmelites. Each religious

order was given parish rights only within its own district; nor could the priests of one order perform any ecclesiastical functions within the territory allotted to the others without their sanction. The headquarters of the Capuchin territory were to be at New Orleans, those of the Carmelites at Mobile, and the Jesuits at Kaskaskia, where Father Joseph Kereben, S. J., was superior.

This arrangement of districts did not last long, for the Carmelites were unable to supply subjects for the Mobile territory, which was accordingly handed over to the Capuchins, while the care of all the Indian missions in Louisiana was given over to the Jesuits. On the 20th of February, 1726, a new agreement, by which that of 1722 was annulled, was made between the Society of Jesus and the Company of the West, and received the King's approbation on the 17th of August of that year.

In 1725 Father Kereben, S. J., was succeeded as Superior of the Jesuits of Louisiana Territory by Father Nicolas Ignatius de Beaubois, S. J., who very soon after his appointment to office visited New Orleans and, toward the close of the year 1725, sailed for France. Before leaving for Europe he selected a temporary residence in New Orleans, for he was already made aware that the Company of the West wished the Jesuits to take up a permanent abode in New Orleans. The site of the temporary residence was on the southeast corner of Bienville and Chartres streets and is so marked in a reliable map dated 1728.

The new agreement between the Company of the West and the Society of Jesus, to which Father de Beaubois was a party, had many features, of which the following, according to Martin, are the chief.

The Company of the West agreed to bring Jesuit priests and lay brothers on the following conditions: Each priest was to receive a salary of 600 livres (\$133.35), with an additional 200 livres for each of the first five years, and 450 livres for his outfit. A chapel or church was to be erected at the expense of the Company for the Jesuits at each mission station attended to by them in the colony. Lay brothers were to have their passage paid, receive a bounty of 150 livres (\$33.35), but no salary. By another clause it was agreed that the Jesuits on their arrival at

New Orleans were to receive a grant of land of 3600 feet frontage on the river and with a depth of 9600 feet; they were, moreover, to enjoy the privilege of purchasing slaves on the same terms as the colonists. The Jesuits on their side bound themselves to keep constantly at least fourteen members of their Order in the colony, namely, a pastor and missionary at Kaskaskia (Illinois); a missionary in the village of the Brochigomas [?]; a chaplain and missionary at the Wabash Fort; a missionary at the Arkansas Post; a chaplain and missionary at Fort St. Peter among the Yazooos (Mississippi); another missionary at the same place, whose duty it would be to penetrate into the country of the Chickasaws so as to convert them to the true faith and promote union and friendship between them and the French; two missionaries were to be sent to the Alibamon Post, one of whom was to devote himself especially to the conversion of the Choctaws. The Superior of the Jesuits in the Colony of Louisiana was to reside in New Orleans, but was not to perform any parish duties there without the sanction of the Capuchin superior, who, with the priests of his Order, alone possessed parish rights there. The Company agreed to furnish the Jesuit superior with a chapel, vestry room, etc., a house and lot for his accommodation, that of a companion priest, and the temporary use of such priests of the Order as might arrive in the colony through the port of New Orleans.

Besides the successful arrangement of the contract between the Western Company and the Society of Jesus, Father de Beaubois' visit to France had two other successful results, namely, that of securing six Jesuit priests as an earnest of more in the near future, and a colony of Ursuline Nuns for the foundation of a Monastery of Ursulines in Louisiana. In the spring of 1727, Father de Beaubois, accompanied by his six fellow priests, was back in New Orleans and, with the spirit of zeal that characterized him, immediately set about establishing the plantation. The grant of land given in the contract with the Western Company was situated on the west bank of the Mississippi about four and a half miles above the town limits (opposite the present Audubon Park) [?]. This situation was undesirable, as it was too remote from the town and would necessitate extra expense in the

management. Father de Beaubois saw this at a glance and hence took steps while in France to secure a more suitable location for the plantation. For this reason, by an act of sale passed on the 11th of April 1726, before Andre Chavre, notary, at Chatellet, Paris, Bienville transferred to the Jesuits, represented by Fathers de Beaubois and d'Avaugour, a large tract of land on the east side of the river. In the Tenth U. S. Census (Social Statistics of Cities, Vol. II, page 216), this tract is described as comprising an area of 20 arpents (2600 feet) front by 50 arpents (9000 feet) depth, within straight lines, and lying within boundaries now indicated by Common, Tchoupitoulas, Annunciation and Terpsichore streets and the Bayou St. John. On the 22d of January, 1728, another tract, lying beside the first, and measuring five arpents by fifty, was sold to the Jesuits by M. deNoyan, a relative of Bienville, and in the latter's name. A third purchase was made by the Fathers on the 3d of December, 1745, of M. Breton (Comptroller of the Navy), consisting of seven by fifty arpents, adjoining the preceding. In a word, the Jesuit plantation in New Orleans in its last development reached from the river to the present Broad street and from the upper side of Common street to Orange street.

After securing slaves, as promised in the contract with the Western Company, and after erecting the requisite buildings [in reliable maps of New Orleans after 1728 the Jesuit residence, chapel and slave apartments are located at what is now the northwest corner of Gravier and Magazine streets], the land was fenced in and was at once made to answer the purpose which it had to serve. In order to comply with the public statute, a small portion of the property was turned over to the use of a colonist, who, in consideration thereof, took charge of the levee and public or royal road [the one that figured so conspicuously in the famous batture case afterward] along the river end of the plantation.

Gradually, under the prudent direction of the Fathers, the plantation assumed shape and became a source of countless advantages and blessings to the colony at large. In the course of time it increased and its usefulness was multiplied a hundred fold, so that this establishment at New Orleans was not only a

cause of wonder to all but a source of inspiration to the colonists; and at the same time a storehouse from which all the outlying missions derived subsistence and prosperity.

Though the peculiar purpose of the plantation was to provide in various ways for other Jesuit stations, so that the missionaries could carry on their apostolic work among the Indians without having to busy themselves with temporal concerns, it was also itself an apostolic center on a smaller scale. Father Mathurin Le Petit, S. J., the successor as Superior of the Louisiana Missions to Father de Beaubois, writing to the General, Rev. Father Francis Retz, in June, 1738, says: "Here in New Orleans, the chief, or rather the only, city of this vast region, we number two priests and two lay brothers. My companion is the missionary to the hospital and to the soldiers, and likewise confessor to the Nuns of St. Ursula. I instruct in Christian morals the negro slaves of our residents and as many as I can from other quarters. I direct the sodality of workingmen, which I established not long ago, hear confessions in our chapel and preach during Advent and Lent as often as I am invited to do so by the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, who minister to the neighboring parishes of the French people."

The immediate and most far-reaching result of the Jesuit plantation at New Orleans was to do what the French government should have done but did not do. It relieved the poverty of the struggling churches in the colony; it provided the missions with means to carry on the divine service; it enabled them to answer in some way at least the thousand wants of their wretched flocks. It was also a center to which the Jesuit missionaries had recourse to build up their broken health or renew their own spiritual life.

Things went on well in the various missions of the colony until November, 1729, when the tyranny and rapacity of Chepart, the French officer in command of Fort Rosalie, Natchez, caused the Indians of the Natchez and other tribes to rise in revolt against the French, and a frightful massacre of the latter was the result. Father Du Poisson, S. J., who was on his way from the Arkansas Post to New Orleans, happened to be at the moment in Natchez and was brutally murdered on the 27th of November. The re-

volt spread to the Yazoo tribe, which, on the 11th of December, 1729, treacherously killed the holy and self-sacrificing missionary, Father John Souel, S. J. A few weeks later Father Doutreleau, S. J., who was on his way from the Illinois country to New Orleans, was attacked (while in the act of saying mass), by the savages at the mouth of the Yazoo River, and so badly wounded that he barely escaped with his life. In 1736, Father Anthony Senat, S. J., who as chaplain accompanied a French force sent out against the Chickasaws in what is now Lee County, Mississippi, was captured by the savages and burned at the stake.

Ordinary history has been charged with being a huge conspiracy against the truth. The reason is not hard to find. Nothing is easier than to give a twist to the truth in writing history, for although a history should be impartial, it very often reflects the thoughts and bias of the narrator. To give a striking example of the correctness of this statement I have only to instance the remarkably unfair way in which Mr. Gayarré has recorded the controversy, or, as he styles it, "The Religious Warfare" between the Capuchins and the Jesuits in colonial New Orleans. Lest I myself should fall under the fatal effects of bias I shall refrain from expressing an opinion and merely cite the words of an eminent jurist of the Louisiana Bar in this connection: "About 1755," says Judge McGloin, "arose the controversy between the Jesuits and the Capuchins upon the subject of their respective jurisdictions, which controversy a certain Louisiana historian designates as a religious warfare. The same historian takes up the cudgels strong for the Capuchins and lays upon the Jesuits imputations of dishonest ambition, duplicity, fraud and general malpractice. Strange that others may differ as to their rights and strive for the maintenance of respective privileges as they see them without it being charged that they are attempting robbery or fraud. It seems, however, with some, that if the difference be touching some right of ecclesiastical character, there arises an inexorable necessity that both contestants, or one at least, must be in bad faith and dishonest.

"The controversy in this case was a simple one and, to fair minds, does not suggest the presence of aught dishonorable to either of the parties. The Capuchins had been allotted, in the

year 1722, as a field for their labors, the city of New Orleans and a very large adjoining area. In 1726, as already mentioned, the Jesuits were assigned to the upper portion of what was then the Territory of Louisiana. As a necessary adjunct of their missionary establishment, they were allowed a house in the city of New Orleans, the port of entry, for the entire country over which their missions extended. True it is, it had been stipulated that the Jesuits were to exercise no religious functions within the limits occupied by the Capuchins without the assent of the Superior of the Capuchins. We have seen," adds this writer, "that in 1726 the Capuchin Superior, Father Bruno, was Vicar-General for the Bishop of Quebec, the Ordinary of the enormous diocese including Canada and the Territory of Louisiana."

"The convention of 1726," continues Mr. McGloin, "could not affect the authority of the Bishop of Quebec over the entire area of his diocese; nor did it impose upon him any restriction in the matter of selecting his Vicar-General. Father Bruno happened, in 1726, to be such a vicar, and the authority he exercised as such was not the authority resting in him as Superior of the Capuchins. As representative of the Ordinary (*i. e.*, the Bishop of Quebec), the Jesuits themselves were to an extent subject to him (Fr. Bruno), in so far as they discharged pastoral duties within the limits covered by his appointment as vicar. There was no concession by the Bishop of Quebec holding him *always* to appoint a Capuchin as his vicar in Louisiana, consequently when the Bishop of Quebec appointed Very Rev. Father Boudoin, the Jesuit Superior (in 1757), to be his vicar, and vested him with the appurtenant power, there was no violation of the compact of 1726. That convention did not vest the Capuchins with aught more than what would now be known as parochial duties; it did not confide to them any episcopal jurisdiction or authority. The appointment of a Jesuit Vicar-General did not impair the parochial rights of the Capuchins, and such Jesuit vicar could be merely representative of episcopal authority, in that quarter, as Father Bruno had been before. When the Capuchins, in good faith, no doubt, on their side and in fair defense of their rights as they conceived them to be, objected to the exercise by Father Boudoin of his authority as Vicar-General, the latter

advanced this very line of reasoning, and drew this very distinction. To the ordinary mind fairly well versed in ecclesiastical concerns, it would seem that the point was well taken, and we remain at a loss to see what justification there is for any historians pretending to read the minds of the parties involved in such controversy so as to see bad faith and basest duplicity in the conduct of the Jesuits in general and of Father Boudoin in particular."

As a matter of historical information it is well to state that the documents in the archives of the Ursuline Convent, New Orleans, put beyond all question of cavil that all the Jesuit superiors from 1726 to 1763 were legitimate vicars-general of the Bishop of Quebec and at the same time ecclesiastical superiors of the Ursulines. With regard to the particular controversy referred to above, the historian Shea points out that the Jesuits wished to yield the point to the Capuchins, but Bishop Pontbriand of Quebec insisted on their retaining the office. The matter was brought before the Superior Council of Louisiana, which, be it noted, recognized and registered the appointment of Father Baudoin, S. J., as Vicar-General.

Meanwhile in France great hostility was displayed against the Society of Jesus by the government. The enemies of the Jesuits had, with very few exceptions, won over all the provincial parliaments to their side and wheedled them into passing decrees having for their final object the destruction of the Society. On the 1st of April, 1762, the Parliament of Paris passed a law closing all the Jesuit colleges in its jurisdiction. All France followed the example set by Paris, and Louisiana, the sole remaining colony of France in North America, was not to be left behind in the race for the glory to be won in maligning, plundering and banishing her Jesuit benefactors. Some individuals in high places in the colony were hostile to the Jesuits, and this action on the part of the mother country appeared to them to be a favorable moment for attaining their end. The relations between the Capuchins and the Jesuits in New Orleans were still strained, but there was no desire on either side to renew the old dispute until Father Hilaire de G  neveaux became Superior of the Capuchins. This ecclesiastic, whom history attests

was both capable and learned, once more renewed the claim of the Capuchins to be the sole possessors of the vicar-generalship in New Orleans. Here was the opportunity longed for by the enemies of the Jesuits in the colony. They saw a splendid chance to ruin the Society of Jesus and yet escape censure, for circumstances offered them a scapegoat in the Capuchins. The dominant party in France could not accuse them of being backward in furthering the cause, while to the friends of religion and order these worthies could, washing their hands, answer with Pilate: "We are innocent of this crime; lay the blame on the Capuchins."

It now becomes my duty to speak of the great sacrifices demanded of the Jesuits of colonial Louisiana before it pleased Providence to try their obedience unto death. Only one of the victims, Father Watrin, S. J., has left an account of the expulsion from Louisiana, unless, as some think, the intercepted letters and stolen documents of the others may lie rotting in the archives of the Marine Department at Paris, whither Choiseul had all such documents deposited. The most truthful source of information extant on this subject and the one to which I am largely indebted for this paper is Father Watrin's brochure, originally written in French and published in Paris on the 3d of September, 1764. This brochure was republished by Father Carayon, S. J., in 1865.

And how did the Jesuits act, asks the author of the brochure, when they saw the clouds gather around them? At first they were filled with apprehension, but the encouragement of their well-wishers and their deep-rooted confidence in the power of God's protection strengthened them anew and they went on attending to their usual avocations without taking care for the future. Such were the circumstances when a vessel from France arrived on the 29th of June, 1763. On board were Abbadie, the new Governor, and La Frenière, the new Procurator-General of the colony. Abbadie informed Father Baudoin, the Superior of the Jesuits, what steps had been taken against the Society of Jesus in France, and added: "I believe that the Procurator-General is charged with some order that concerns you." This was an

intimation, perhaps friendly, to the members of the Society in Louisiana to prepare the decks for the coming action, but the fathers were so confident that no valid charge could be brought against them, so sure of the backing of the colony, notwithstanding the example of France, that they took no steps to defend themselves. It was, indeed, the wisest course; for all they might have done could not save them, as they were already condemned, and resistance, though ever so justifiable, would only furnish the malice of their enemies with material out of which it could construct a charge of resistance to authority. A war of extermination was now declared against them. The Superior Council of Louisiana, which, be it remembered, some few years before had sustained the Jesuits in their rights against the Capuchins, now seemed anxious to reverse its former judgment, and, as a preliminary measure, ordered the constitutions of the Society of Jesus to be examined. Thus it came to pass in Louisiana, as in the European countries, that these venerable constitutions of Saint Ignatius Loyola, which had been approved by several Popes and by a General Council of the Catholic Church at Trent, were to be passed upon in New Orleans not by theologians or canonists, but by shopkeepers, doctors and military officers. The judges were ignorant of the Latin language in which the constitutions were written, and none of them, except M. Chatillon, Colonel of the Angoumois Regiment, showed themselves any way in favor of the Jesuits. The charges brought against the Fathers in Louisiana were the same trite ones that had been used to advantage by their enemies in various European countries. The principal charges were: (1) That the Jesuits attacked the royal authority, (2) encroached on the rights of Bishops, and (3) endangered the public safety. It was not to be expected, however, that in a sparsely-settled country like Louisiana, where the Jesuits and their heroic labors were seen of all, such sweeping charges would find general credence; hence some local charges were added. These were: (1) That the Jesuits took no care of their missions; (2) that they thought of nothing save how to improve their plantation; (3) that they usurped the office of Vicar-General.

Such were the preposterous accusations brought against men honored and esteemed by Bienville, the founder of New Orleans; by his successor in office, the stern Perrier, who, in the hour of his direst need, found the Jesuits a tower of strength; by the generous Vaudreuil; by Kerlerec, the honest naval captain, doomed afterward to rot in the Bastile, and who, in this supreme crisis, thus wrote to the Jesuit Fathers: "Blessed are ye when they shall revile you and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you untruly, for my sake; be glad and rejoice;" by Abbadie, the recently appointed Governor, who showed, as far as he dared, that his sympathies leaned toward the Jesuits but who lacked the courage of his convictions.

It would be needless delay to spend time in refuting the general charges which even those who made them knew to be false, and which have been refuted time and again by learned and holy men. As regards the local charges made against the Jesuits of Louisiana, a few words may be said. It was a matter of public knowledge at the time, and therefore could not have escaped the notice of the Superior Council, that not only had the Jesuit missionaries toiled and sweated among the Indian charges, but that they were the only class of missionaries who had taken the trouble to learn the Indian dialects so as thereby all the more readily to gain the poor savages to Christ. It was not unknown to the Superior Council that many Jesuits had shed their blood for the sake of the faith in Louisiana, and that those who were not quite so fortunate as to offer up their life-blood for Christ served Him in labor and weariness in caring for the nomadic Indians, being thereby obliged to forego all intercourse with their fellow white men for months and sometimes years at a time. It was also known to every Frenchman in the colony that the presence of the "Black-Robes" among the savages was a protection far better than weapons or armies. And yet, O ingratitude! these same Black-Robes were accused of taking no care of their missions. To pass on to the second indictment, namely, the Jesuits thought of nothing save how to improve their plantation: The framers of this charge were fully aware that the revenues derived from the plantation were devoted solely to the upkeeping of the various Indian missions throughout the

colony. They were also aware of the good effect produced on the white settlers as well as on the Indians by the industry exhibited on this model Louisiana plantation. They were aware that to the Jesuits Louisiana owed its sugar cane, its orange and fig trees; and that the Jesuits, though they were not the introducers of the indigo plant and wax-myrtle tree, were nevertheless the ones who made the cultivation of both a source of revenue for the entire colony. The plantation of the Jesuits was a shining model for all, and deserved the praise, not the blame, of the colonial as well as of the French government. Referring to what the Jesuits had done for Louisiana, the United States Social Statistics for 1880 uses these words: "Much encouragement was given to agriculture in Louisiana by the example of their [the Jesuits'] industry and enterprise." Lastly, the Jesuits were accused of having usurped the office of Vicar-General. This charge needs no refutation, as it was made in direct contradiction of the decision handed down and faithfully registered by the Superior Council itself only a few years before. Besides, even supposing the charge was true, it could not be brought against the whole body of the Jesuits in the colony and could only be laid at the door of an individual member of the Order.

On the 9th of July, 1763, the Superior Council of Louisiana condemned the Jesuits throughout the Colony without examination and without a hearing. It declared their religious vows null and void (though where a secular court got jurisdiction over spiritual affairs is not apparent); forbade them for the future to call themselves Jesuits, and ordered that they should lay aside their religious habit and assume that worn by the secular clergy. It decreed, moreover, that all their goods and chattels, with the exception of such books and clothes as each one was permitted to retain, should be sold at auction; that the money accruing from the property in New Orleans should be forwarded to Choiseul to be divided at his discretion among the Fathers of the Louisiana mission, and that all other monies coming from the properties in other parts of the colony should go to the King's treasury. It was further ordered that the church ornaments and sacred vessels should be handed over to the Capuchins; that the chapels should be razed; that the

Fathers should be sent back to France as soon as possible, and that in the meantime they should not be allowed to live in community.

The execution of the decree was a repetition of the indignities common on the part of civil officers in those days. Sheriffs, appraisers and their underlings took possession of the Jesuit residence, feasted on the best the plantation produced, and, by way of adding insult to injury, obliged the aged Superior, Father Boudoin, to be present at their riotous banquets. At length the sale came to an end and the chapel, within whose hallowed walls the famous chief, Chicago, with his Illinois followers, had sung hymns of praise to God, and where they had prayed for the French monarch and their beloved Black-Robes, was leveled to the ground. This, indeed, was an unnecessary and altogether wanton piece of destruction in a country so poor in sacred edifices, but the desecration of the adjoining graveyard was an act of vindictiveness for which the name vandalism is too mild. The destruction at New Orleans was only a part of the general program of the Superior Council; there yet remained a similar destruction of chapels and residences in other parts of the colony and the banishment of the Fathers before the Jesuits could say that their sacrifice was complete. Seeing how ruthlessly the other commands of the Council had been enforced, the Fathers who happened to be residing in New Orleans or its vicinity left before they could be proceeded against. Father Carette embarked for San Domingo and Father Roy hurried off to Pensacola, Florida, where he arrived in time to sail for Mexico with the Spanish officials then retiring in virtue of the cession of West Florida to England. The aged Superior, Father Michael Boudoin, the benefactor of the colony, the man to whom our present State of Louisiana owes so much of its prosperity, alone remained. He had passed thirty-five years in the colony, and was then seventy-two years old and broken down by his labors. The authorities allowed him to remain because, forsooth, "being a Canadian he had no friends or relatives in France." As a Canadian, Father Boudoin was a British subject and possibly this may in a manner account for the sudden clemency extended to him. Moreover, when it is remembered that the very men who

at this juncture were plundering him of all he possessed, afterward granted him an annuity, the thought suggests itself that his stay in New Orleans, notwithstanding the decree of banishment may have been owing to the fact that the rulers were, as we are told of some of their prototypes in Holy Scripture, "fearful of a commotion among the people." Hard beyond measure would have been the lot of the aged missionary had not Etienne Boré* kindly taken him to his home, where, some three years later, the broken-hearted veteran passed to his eternal reward. Etienne Boré, afterward famous as the first successful cultivator of the sugar cane which the Jesuits had introduced into the colony, owned what is now the Seventh District. His residence stood on the site of the Horticultural Hall, and the tract of land on which the Jesuits of today have erected the imposing group of buildings that forms Loyola University was the estate of his son-in-law, Pierre Foucher.

Meanwhile, that is, between July and December, 1763, the decree of the Superior Council was being enforced in all the missions owned by the Jesuits throughout the colony, and the manner of its enforcement was in each case modelled on the heartless treatment shown the Fathers in New Orleans. The night of the 21st of December, 1763, was the date of a pathetic scene on the levee at New Orleans. Though the night was chilly, we are told, yet a large crowd of people gathered to see the Jesuit missionaries, some bowed down with years and others in the prime of life, arrive under armed escort from Kaskaskia, Fort Chartres, Caokia, Vincennes and other remote posts in upper Louisiana. The Capuchin Fathers were there also; the misfortunes of their former rivals had roused their Christian charity and they came to alleviate, as best they could, the hardships of the unfortunate ones. The poor Jesuits from upper Louisiana were in a sad plight. There was no home of their own Order to shelter them, and where were they to lodge until the time of their departure for France arrived? They had no means of support and they could not count on their former friends. The Capuchins, though they begged the Jesuits to share their daily meals with them, could not lodge them, for their accommodations were scarcely ample enough for the members of their own Order in

* Grandfather of Charles Gayarre, the historian.

New Orleans. At this crisis an officer of the guard, M. Volsey, animated with Christian charity, acquainted Governor Abbadie of the sad condition in which the Jesuits were and secured them lodgings with a certain M. LeSassier, who treated them with the greatest kindness during the few weeks they had to remain in New Orleans.

The Fathers soon perceived that their presence in New Orleans was a source of embarrassment to Governor Abbadie and so, in the spirit of self-sacrifice, they resolved to embark for France as soon as they could procure passage despite the unfavorable season of the year. Accordingly some left by the *Minerva* in January, 1764, and were followed on the 6th of February by four others. One, Father de la Morinié, remained behind because he was too ill to undertake the ocean voyage, and another, Father Meurin, obtained permission of the Superior Council to return to his Indians at St. Genevieve (Missouri), in upper Louisiana, where for years he attended to the deserted missions of the Illinois country until his holy death, which occurred at Prairie du Roche on the 13th of August, 1777. His remains were afterward removed and now rest in the Jesuits' cemetery of St. Stanislaus' Seminary, at Florissant, Missouri.

The foregoing account is but a poor and rapid sketch of the sad fate of the intrepid Christian priests who, at a sacrifice of all that was dear to human nature had, for the space of over forty-one years, devoted themselves unsparingly to the spiritual interests of the white, black and Indian population of the Louisiana Territory, and in return they received the cup of vinegar and gall.

The violent men who drove the Society of Jesus from colonial Louisiana paid no attention to the consequences that were bound to result. Infidel or vicious, or both, little cared they that immortal souls would perish; little cared they that Christian Indian tribes should fall back into idolatry; that, as history asserts, even many whites, bereft of religious influence, should part with their Christian civilization and assume the garb of savagery. No; these men did not allow themselves to reflect before plunging themselves into an exhibition of passion and vice that in the eyes of all honest men must brand them with eternal infamy.

In the spirit of their Divine Master, yielding to the powers that ruled, a couple of dozen humble Jesuit missionaries departed from that colonial Louisiana which they loved and toiled for, but not long afterward, by a just Nemesis, France, Spain and England, yielding also to force, but for a different motive, departed thence, never, we devoutly hope, to return. Thenceforth through all the long years, while immigration was peopling the unoccupied lands of the west, and until states and cities and dioceses took shape and form, religion languished or died out. Such was the aftermath, with the dark ending of one of the darkest episodes in American colonial history.

MEETING OF MARCH, 1916.

The Louisiana Historical Society met on Wednesday evening, March 15, in the Cabildo. There was a good attendance of members and visitors; all the officers were present.

The Secretary read the minutes of the previous meeting, which were corrected and approved:

Judge Renshaw read the following report:

To the Louisiana Historical Society:

The Sign Committee beg leave to submit the following report: Your committee recommends the placing of three signs, viz., one on the exterior of the Cabildo, on the Chartres street frieze of the old Supreme Court room; one at the entrance to the Sala Capitulare, and one at the Chartres street entrance to the Cabildo.

Respectfully submitted,

HY. RENSHAW, Chairman;
G. CUSACHS,
JOHN DYMOND,
W. O. HART,
ROBERT GLENK.

At the conclusion of this reading, Mr. Denechaud arose and objected seriously to placing signs on the outside of so venerable and venerated a building as the Cabildo. Judge Renshaw replied with eloquence and force, making the point that the sign of the Museum had been placed for several years on the outside of the old Civil District Court, now the Natural History Building. The President of the Board of Curators of the State Museum, Mr. T. P. Thompson, answered this. Judge Renshaw then read

the city ordinance giving over the two buildings to the Board of Curators of the Louisiana State Museum and domiciling the Louisiana Historical Society in the Sala Capitular of the Cabildo. Mr. Martin made a few remarks in a conciliatory spirit and finally the resolution of Judge Renshaw was submitted and approved by a unanimous vote, minus one voice, Mr. T. P. Thompson, who asked that his vote be recorded in the minutes as against it.

Before proceeding to the regular program, Mrs. Friedericks introduced Miss Ethel Hutson, who made a warm appeal to the Society to take some action to prevent the proposed destruction of the dome of the St. Louis Hotel, recounting the work done by a volunteer committee of ladies, at whose insistence the work of demolition had been arrested in order that so fine an example of early nineteenth century architecture might be preserved; one that was unique in the United States and not surpassed in the Old World. The dome, she said, was made of hollow tiles, such as were used 1400 years ago. By measurement it was a perfect construction and one that if rescued now from demolition would endure centuries longer, an honor to the city and its citizens. The Society passed over Miss Hutson's appeal in silence, and the President called upon Mr. Gilbert Pemberton for the paper he had prepared for the evening, entitled "Notes on General Wilkinson's Memorial and Miro and Navarro's Dispatch No. 13," translated from the original Spanish documents copied and given to the Society by the Baron de Pontalba.

It proved to be a paper of more than usual interest and importance regarding an episode that has not received hitherto the full treatment by historians necessary to the proper understanding of it. Mr. Pemberton's paper was listened to with attention, and he was thanked for it by vote.

Mr. James Wilkinson, who was present, was asked by Mr. Hart for a contribution carrying on the further history of General Wilkinson and his subsequent reëntury into the service of the United States. This, Mr. Wilkinson kindly consented to do.

Mr. T. P. Thompson called up the question of the proposed monument to Bienville and introduced Mrs. Charles LeSassier, who gave the following short account of the ancestry and work of Miss Angelica Schuyler Church, who desired to be awarded the contract for the proposed monument:

"Miss Church is a great-grandniece of the famous artist, John Trumbull, who painted the pictures in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, and who started the movement that later crystallized in the National Academy of Design with headquarters in New York. Her great-grandfather was Professor Benjamin Silliman, distinguished pioneer in popularizing science, whose statue adorns the Yale campus. She is the only child of the late Colonel Benjamin Silliman Church, known as the dean of American engineers, who designed and built the new Croton aqueduct, also designing the plans of the new Croton dam, both pronounced when finished the greatest engineering feat of the time. For these Colonel Church was awarded a gold medal at the Paris Exposition.

"Miss Church's claim on the interest of Southern people comes through her mother, Miss Mary Van Wyke of Washington, born in Nashville, Tenn., and a descendant of the Cantrels, Polk and Maury families of Tennessee, closely related to the celebrated scientist, M. F. Maury.

"The hereditary influence of these men is apparent in the beautiful work of this gifted young woman, whose unusual training and education have contributed to her success. Miss Church studied with Beard, the animal painter, and Alphonse Mucha, the great designer, of Paris."

Miss Church then submitted her ideas for designs for the monument, which were received with enthusiasm. Some pertinent discussion followed during which, on motion of Mr. Hart, Mr. Alden McClelland and General Booth, and, on motion of Miss King, Mrs. Charles Lessassier were added to the Bienville Monument Committee.

Just before the motion to adjourn was put, Mrs. Friedericks again brought up the question of the St. Louis Hotel dome, praying for some action by the Society. General Booth proposed that the President of the Society collaborate with the ladies in their effort. Mr. Cusachs consenting; this was carried unanimously. The Society then adjourned.

The names of the new members elected at this meeting were ordered to be added to the minutes:

Rev. P. M. H. Wyndhoven	P. Sefton Schneidau
Miss Emelie DeLavigne	Benjamin C. Brown
Mrs. M. Seebold Molinary	Edward S. Luria
Mrs. Charles LeSassier	J. T. Buddecke
James Wilkinson	Roger Arnauld

MEETING OF APRIL, 1916.

The regular monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society took place April 19, with Mr. Cusachs, chairman, Robert Glenk, secretary, and a large audience present. The minutes of the last meeting were read and, after corrections, approved.

The following persons were placed in nomination for membership in the Society by Mr. Hart, and were unanimously elected:

G. A. Foster	Mrs. Emilie Lejeune
R. W. Frame	Miss Virginia Torre
John B. Murphy	Dr. H. B. Seebold
Sam'l A. Trufant, Jr.	Frank C. Fegley
Mrs. Ben. S. Story	Charles LeSassier
Dr. L. M. Provosty	A. T. Terry
E. S. Ferguson	Miss A. D. Nesom
Abraham Goldberg	Mrs. Jas. Wilkinson
Edward C. Palmer	

The feature of the evening was the reading of a paper, "The Opera in New Orleans," by Harry Brunswick Loeb.

It was evident that Mr. Loeb had carefully prepared his paper and it was well received. On motion duly seconded and carried, a vote of thanks was accorded Mr. Loeb and the paper was ordered printed in the Society's Proceedings.

Mr. Edgar Grima presented some notes in regard to the municipal support of theatres and opera in New Orleans in former days, which are also to be incorporated in the Society's publications.

An invitation to the Society to send delegates to attend the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the City of Newark, N. J., by the New Jersey Historical Society, was read and, on motion duly seconded and carried, the President, authorized to appoint delegates residing in New York City, who are members of the Louisiana Historical Society, named Dr. Browne, Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stewart, Mr. and Mrs. Chas. LeSassier.

W. O. Hart announced that Theodore Grunewald had offered to have painted and placed upon one of the large panels of the lobby of the Hotel Grunewald any picture connected with the history of Louisiana the Society may select. According to reso-

lution, the subject probably will be a picture of Bienville, the founder of New Orleans. The following committee was appointed to confer with Mr. Grunewald: Judge Charles F. Claiborne, John Dymond, W. O. Hart, A. B. Booth and Mrs. M. Seebold Molinary.

Mr. Dymond reported on behalf of the Bienville Memorial Committee, of which Mayor Behrman is chairman, saying that no further progress was made in collecting funds and that nothing had been done toward selecting a sketch for the monument, Miss Church having gone back to New York.

Mr. Hart read a resolution presented by the American Peace Centenary Committee.

Mrs. Emelie Lejeune, at the request of Mr. W. O. Hart, gave some personal reminiscences of the opera on the occasion of the visit of the Grand Duke Alexis of Prussia in 1872 during the performance of "Il Trovatore."

On motion of Mr. John Dymond, the thanks of the Society were extended to Mrs. Lejeune, and she was asked to write her story for publication in the Proceedings.

The meeting then adjourned.

THE OPERA IN NEW ORLEANS

A Historical Sketch from the Earliest Days Through Season 1914-15.

By HARRY BRUNSWICK LOEB,
Music Critic, New Orleans Item.

A gentleman, who is in a position to know, told me that, when the French Opera Association went into the hands of a receiver, the important newspapers throughout the country carried the news. This same gentleman, whose travels lead him from ocean to ocean, stated that wherever he passed he heard expressions of surprise and regret regarding the plight of the time-honored institution. Shortly after the operatic crash, the Musical Courier of New York, the largest musical journal in the world, devoted the first two and one-third pages of its issue of December 16, 1915, to an article entitled "What New Orleans Has Done for French Opera." Right here in this city I heard various comments inspired by the unfortunate operatic conditions. From one: "So the old French Opera's all over with now. Well, you know, the companies of late have been very poor." From another: "People don't care for opera any more; they'd rather dance." From still another, "We're tired of that old repertory, that shabby chorus, that poor ballet, and that awful scenery."

I mention the above for no reason other than to show you how our opera is regarded abroad and at home. I hope, after having given you a brief historical sketch of it, to make you see why we should all be proud of an institution which, for more than a century, placed this city conspicuously upon the musical map of the world.

In writing of opera in New Orleans, the difficulty lay not in finding material interesting enough to write about, but in selecting, from the great collections of fascinating records, such facts as were best adaptable to the purpose at hand. As Mr. Louis C. Elson, the distinguished Boston critic, remarks in his book, "American Music," "To describe opera in New Orleans would require a ponderous volume in itself." So, briefly:

Note.—This sketch is largely based upon an article entitled "What New Orleans Has Done for French Opera," specially written for the Musical Courier of New York by Mr. Loeb and published by that journal in its issue of December 16, 1915.

Operatic history in this city begins during the last years of the eighteenth century, at the time that Washington was President of the United States, that Estevan Miró was Governor of Louisiana, that the population of New Orleans, numbering about five thousand, diverted itself at the Spectacle de la Rue St. Pierre, situated on the ground floor of the house in St. Peter street now bearing the number 716.

Louis Tabary was the first manager of the Spectacle de la Rue St. Pierre, having brought from Europe as early as 1791 a company of comedians who were doubtless glad to fill an engagement in what must have seemed to them a splendid shelter after the nomadic life they had been leading—playing now under a roof, now in a tent, and often *al fresco*. Of the doings at the "Spectacle" there is very little of importance to chronicle. We learn from W. H. Coleman's "Historical Sketch Book and Guide" that "in 1799 half a dozen actors and actresses, refugees from the insurrection in San Domingo, gave acceptable performances, rendering comedy, drama, vaudeville, and comic opera." The insurrection referred to, I might say parenthetically, was the uprising of the plantation slaves against the whites. The mulattos of San Domingo, from whom their recently-given civil rights had been withdrawn, joined the slaves, and there followed a long period of turmoil during which many atrocities were perpetrated.

The year 1807 finds "Le Spectacle de la Rue St. Pierre" still in existence but in a very dilapidated state. An idea of this primitive theatre may be had from a description of it as "a long, low, wooden structure, built of cypress, and alarmingly exposed to the dangers of fire." We learn that M. Terrier had charge of it, that his regime was a short and unsuccessful one, and that by the end of the year, due to a wrangle between the rabble and the police, the amusement place was closed. The performances having been discontinued and the building being in so wretched a condition as to evoke complaints, a syndicate erected "Le Théâtre St. Pierre" on the old site.

This new theatre opened its doors on September 14, 1808, with a three-act melodrama entitled, "Le Prince Tékéli, ou Le Siège de Montgatz," followed by a one-act opera, "Le Secret." But

it was destined to a short life, for, on December 28, 1810, it fell under the auctioneer's hammer. The "dead-head" problem was evidently worthy of consideration even in those early days, judging from the following, taken from *Le Moniteur de la Louisiane* of September 3, 1808:

"All free admissions are withdrawn; the stockholders alone are excepted, and those who are to enjoy the privilege will be advised by the administration before the day of the opening."

An advertisement in the same paper under date of December 30, 1809, reads:

"Théâtre de la Rue St. Pierre—Dimanche prochain, *Le Collatéral*, ou *La Diligence de Joigny*, comédie en cinq actes de Picard, suivie de *'l'Amour Filial* ou *La Jambe de Bois*, opera en un acte de Gaveaux."

I quote this to show the important role which the inevitable subtitle played in the early days, and not for the purpose of inquiring into the librettist's reasons for associating "filial love" and a "wooden leg."

We now pass to the Théâtre St. Philippe and the Théâtre d'Orléans. In the year 1810, New Orleans had three theatres—the two just named and Le Théâtre St. Pierre, which, as we have seen, passed into history on December 28 of that year.

The Théâtre St. Philippe, erected at a cost of \$100,000, at the end of the year 1807, occupied the site of the present St. Philip School. It was a pretentious theatre for those days, having a seating capacity of 700. Louis Tabary again looms up as impresario and inaugurates the new edifice on Saturday, January 30, 1808, with a performance of the one-act comedy, "*Les Fausses Consultations*," followed by Méhul's two-act opera, "*D'une Folie*," words by Bouilly. Shortly before the opening of this theatre, the appended notice appeared in *Le Moniteur de la Louisiane*, showing that then, as now, the public had to be coaxed and pampered:

"St. Philip Street Theatre.—The administration has the honor to announce to the public that the opening of this theatre will take place very shortly.

"Consequently, it invites those persons who desire to subscribe by the month or by the year, or to rent boxes, to go to the administrative bureau, open every day from 10 o'clock in the morning till 2 o'clock, where they will be given full information regarding the subscription.

"The administration, desiring to respond to the interest which the stockholders have been good enough to take in this enterprise, and wishing at the same time to please the public by every possible effort, has neglected nothing in order to give to its performances all the variety, ensemble, and splendor which constitute the chief merit of those kinds of spectacles. The vast size of the theatre will permit it to add to its repertoire, consisting of old and new comedies of good authors and operas by the best composers, mechanical ballets and pantomimes, the performance of which is entrusted to persons skilled in that line. The measures which it has taken to secure new artists for whom it is waiting, the commodiousness and salubrity of the interior of the theatre, its various exits, all make the administration hope that the public will be good enough to encourage the untiring efforts it will make to please them. The administrative office is at the theatre proper. For the administration, (signed) LOUIS DOUVILLIER."

These were some of the offerings at this theatre: "The Barber of Seville" followed "Dettes," opera in two acts by Champain; "The Reciprocal Test" followed by the "Death of Captain Cook;" "The Recovered Husband," comedy in one act by Dancour, followed by a "Divertissement un dancer," in which Mr. Francisqui will be the chief dancer; "The Glorious One," followed by the "Ballet of the Quakers;" "The Little City," comedy in four acts by Picard, followed by the "Stormy Night," opera in one act.

Later years found this erstwhile temple of art degenerated into a sort of circus and finally into a dance hall known as the Washington Ballroom.

The Théâtre d'Orléans was begun in early 1809. On November 30 of the same year it opened with a comedy called "Pataques." Destroyed by fire in 1813, a new theatre was erected on the old site in 1817, upon the solicitation of John Davis, a manager. The architecture was Doric and the building represented a cost of \$80,000. It contained a parquet, two tiers of boxes, and "loges grillés" (latticed boxes), the last "intended to be occupied by persons in mourning, who, without being seen, might witness the performance in comfort," as Mr. J. de Baroncelli informs us in his interesting essay, "Opera Français de la Nouvelle Orleans."

No drama ever enacted upon its stage was as thrilling as the one which it presented on February 26, 1854. A large audience was witnessing the performance when, suddenly, the side boxes of the "Secondes" and "Troisièmes" collapsed upon the first tier of boxes, causing a terrible panic which cost several persons their lives. This excerpt from the *Daily Picayune* of February 27, 1854, is pertinent:

"The accident originated in the giving away of the third gallery to the left of the stage, on the side toward Royal street. The gallery is occupied by colored people and was attached to the rafters of the ceiling by iron bars. It was also connected with the second gallery by slight iron columns. * * * The theatre was crowded for the benefit of a favorite performer, Mr. Carrier, the low comedian. The second act of the first piece was drawing to its close when a sharp report, like that of a musket, startled the audience. Many thought it was some incident to the play itself. But in another moment a universal cry of alarm, a general rising, a rush, the cracking and crashing of timbers, the screams of women and shouts of men, told too plainly another tale. * * * Several persons who witnessed the gradual fall of the two galleries, the efforts of the struggling and appalled mass of human beings in them to escape, and the appearance of the rest of the theatre at the same moment, described it as something utterly paralyzing and horrifying—exceeding any steamboat explosion of conflagration, or railroad catastrophe they ever witnessed."

In 1859 the Théâtre d'Orléans was sold to a Mr. Parlange. This gentleman and the manager, M. Boudousquié, not being able to come to an agreement regarding terms of rental, the latter set out to organize a stock company of \$100,000 for the purpose of erecting another home for opera. With Mr. Rivière Gardère as president, the new company was formed on March 4, 1859. A little more than a month later a contract was signed with the architects, Gallier & Esterbrook, for the construction of the present French Opera House. Although begun as late as June, the building was inaugurated on Thursday evening, December 1, with a performance of "William Tell." To accomplish this feat of rapid construction, strenuous efforts were resorted to. Work was pursued by day and night, and, in order to facilitate the night work, permission was obtained from the city authorities by the builder, a Mr. Villavaso, to keep large fires burning at

the corner of Toulouse and Bourbon streets. In its completed state, the French Opera House cost \$118,500. Its seating capacity is 2078—58 stockholders' seats, 1520 numbered seats, and 500 unreserved in the fourth gallery. Naturally the opening of the new lyric temple was the event of the hour. I subjoin an extract from the Daily Picayune supplement of December 3, 1859:

"Of course, the opening of the New French Opera House was the event of the evening, and it was not a surprise to any one, we imagine to find it as full as it could hold, from the first row parquet to the very ceiling. The coup d'oeil presented by the auditorium, when viewed from the center of the parquet, was superb indeed. The house is constructed so as to afford full view of the audience from almost every point, and its gracefully curved tiers of boxes, rising one above the other, each gradually receding from the line of the other, and then filled, in a great degree, with ladies in grande toilette, presented a spectacle that was richly worth viewing. * * * The whole house is painted white and the decorations of the fronts of the boxes are in gold. * * * A magnificent mirror on each side of the proscenium adds greatly to the picturesque effect of the auditorium. The entrances to the house are numerous, spacious, and commodious, and the crush, ladies' retiring rooms, etc., are constructed upon a scale of great elegance."

The cast at the overture of the opera included Mlle. Feitlinger, lyric soprano; Mme. Berthil Marchal, dugazon; M. Matthieu, first tenor; M. Chas. Petit, light tenor; M. Melschisedec, baritone; M. Genibrel, first bass of grand opera; M. Vanloir, first bass of opera comique.

L'Abeille said: "Mlle. Feitlinger is a charming artiste who will soon become a great favorite with the public. She possesses a very pretty voice and a fine talent as a singer." * * * "Mr. Matthieu is, to our thinking, an artist of immense worth. He delivers the recitatif with a magisterial bigness and transmits to the auditor the emotion he experiences. In a word, he feels deeply and expresses himself deeply." * * * "Mr. Melchisedec, the baritone, possesses the most beautiful instrument which we have heard in a long time."

On the same night that the French Opera opened its doors, Thomas' "Le Songe d'une Nuit D'été" (Midsummer Night's Dream) was performed at the Théâtre d'Orléans for the debut of M. Cabel, first light tenor, who assumed the role of Shak-

speare, and of whom we read: "This artist has a good and well-trained voice, sweet and sympathetic and not lacking power. He showed himself an excellent comedian. * * *"

The French Opera House at once became popular. Season 1860-61 was most brilliant. During the months of January, February and March (1861), Adelina Patti, the then 18-year-old prima donna, charmed her audiences in "Robert le Diable," "Il Trovatore," "Les Huguenots," "Lucia," "Charles VI," "Le Pardon de Ploermel" and other operas. Among her fellow-artists at this time were Mme. Frezzolini and MM. Mathieu and Philippe. An advertisement appears in the Daily Picayune of January 23, 1861, announcing:

"Le Barbier de Seville, with Mlle. Adelina Patti, who in the lesson scenes will sing Mme. Sontag's celebrated 'Echo Song' and the Scottish ballad, ' 'Twas Within a Mile of Edinboro' Town.' "

In the same advertisement, we note that the prices ranged from 50 cents to \$1.50 and that "Doors open at 6:30 o'clock, performance to commence at 7 o'clock." It was evidently cheaper to hear grand opera in those days than now!

On account of the Civil War, four rather inconsequential seasons followed the brilliant season of 1860-61. After the termination of the war, three brothers, Alhaiza by name, opened the French Opera House with an itinerant company. Their venture proving successful, they were emboldened to import from Europe a complete operatic organization, and, accordingly, Charles and Marcelin Alhaiza set sail for Paris. The company was engaged, all arrangements completed, when, on the eve of departure for America, Marcelin Alhaiza died. Charles Alhaiza accompanied the artists to New York, where they embarked upon a steamer named "The Evening Star," bound for this city—a destination which it was never to reach; for, on October 3, 1866, the vessel was overcome by a raging storm at a point 180 miles southeast of Tybee Island. How many lives were lost has never been definitely known. One writer claims that "thirty men and one woman alone reached land, but over three hundred souls perished, among the number the members of the opera troupe and its manager, Charles Alhaiza." The total

number of persons aboard the ill-fated ship has been placed by another writer as only 278. Mr. Gallier, the architect, was among the victims.

The sinking of "The Evening Star" was the more tragic but by no means only important even in the operatic history of 1866. Despite the rise of the new opera house, the old Théâtre d'Orléans continued its existence, attracting a splendid clientele and maintaining its standard. Doubtless it would have been a powerful rival to the younger house had not another calamity terminated its existence. On December 7, in the early morning, "flames were discovered in the wardrobe. Spreading rapidly, the dressing rooms were speedily enveloped, and, before assistance could be rendered, the entire building was in a blaze." In a short while the old edifice was "a mass of smouldering brick and mortar."

To revert to the present French Opera House: The surviving Alhaiza, Paul, opened it on November 9, 1866, with the Strakosch-Ghinoni and Susini Company, Amalia Patti, sister of Adeline, singing the contralto roles.

From 1859 to 1915, excepting the interruptions caused by the Civil War, six seasons at different periods when the theatre remained dark, and the season 1904-5, when a French dramatic company held the boards—the French Opera House continued to offer operatic entertainments. The season 1885-86 was entirely devoted to opera bouffe, during which Alice and Tony Reine were the two remarkable stars. The dramatic company mentioned above was a high class one, composed, as it was, of members from several of the best theatres of France, and counting in its personnel such artists as MM. Perrin, Dulac, Bréant and Mme. Renot.

It may not be amiss at this moment to mention the managers of the French Opera from 1859 through seasons 1914-15. These were Davis and Boudousquie, Ghioni and Susini, Alhaiza, Alhaiza and Calabresi, Canonge, Pappenheim, Durand, Max Strakosch, De Bauplan, Desfossés, Mapleson, Durieu, Maugé, O'Connell, Charley, Berriel, Roberval, Cazelles (dramatic company), Brulatour, Russell, Lombardi, Layolle, Affre and Sigaldi. Several of these directed the opera for a long period.

For the benefit of those who do not know why the opera association went into the hands of a receiver, I mention the reasons as given to me by a gentleman closely in touch with that institution. To begin with, there was no lessee for the season 1915-16, which fact deprived the association of a fair revenue. Then several of the ten carnival organizations, whose rental of the Opera House for their annual balls was a good source of income, asked for a substantial reduction of the old fee, and of these ten organizations only a small number actually had signed for the auditorium up to the time of the crisis. The third cause was the great expense undergone in compliance with the rat-proofing ordinance. The climax of this deplorable state of affairs was contributed by the storm of September 29, 1915, which damaged the old building considerably.

I have heard it remarked on several occasions in the past that the French Opera hindered the musical growth of New Orleans. Looking at the matter frankly, I am reluctantly forced to admit that the French Opera did, to a degree, deprive this city of a variety of musical pabulum. In the first place, the subscriptions to the opera consumed almost all the money that music lovers cared to spend on music, thus precluding the establishment of a symphony orchestra, without which no city can strictly call itself a music centre. Then, too, the predilection for opera, due to years of education in this line of music, made concert-giving a very hazardous undertaking, with the result that the local public only at rare intervals were afforded the opportunity of hearing piano, violin, and 'cello recitals, or chamber music, or the great song literature of France, Germany, and Russia. And the whole trouble lay in the length of the opera season. Of latter days, when concerts began to be more encouraged, the question of dates was a very serious matter. For three months no concerts could be given on Tuesdays, Thursdays or Saturdays, not only because of the altruistic desire to avoid a conflict of attractions, but also because, in a city of this size, it is practically always the same little band of music lovers which is depended upon to attend all the musical offerings. But, you will say, "there were left Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays for concerts." As a large number of

the local patrons of music are of the Jewish faith, and as many of these observe Friday evenings, these evenings would not be suitable for concerts. There are many persons of other faiths who will not attend places of amusement—even concert halls—on Sundays, so Sunday would be a bad selection. Matinees, at least “musical” matinees, do not draw, as we all know. So here we were left with Monday and Wednesday evenings, provided that no bridge, or dinner dance, or reception, or ball were booked for either of these nights. Remember that in New Orleans we have no considerable floating population from which to draw; it is always, as I have said, the same little band to which we must turn for our audiences.

I, personally, am a devotee of opera, and am proud of what our French opera has meant to us. I should love to see the opera flourish as in the days our fathers tell about, but the only way this can be realized is by curtailing the three months’ season to a one-month season, at the utmost. I know that no French company can be imported for less than five months, but there are other fine organizations which would give great pleasure, even if the operas should be sung in a language other than French. By having one month of opera, all interest would be centered upon it and a brilliant season would result. The time prior and after “opera month” could be devoted to concerts and other forms of diversion.

Despite the truths I have stated in detriment to the opera, I realize how we Orleanians should be proud of it. Admitting that it did, to an extent, deprive us of a greater variety of musical attractions, we should not forget the name it gave this city all over the world. I wonder whether a symphony orchestra holding, say, ten concerts a season with fine soloists, would have placed us as prominently on the musical map as did the French Opera. Several cities have had symphony orchestras, several have had great concerts for years, but there were only two cities in the United States, until comparatively recently, which supported opera, and New Orleans, with its maintenance of French opera, stood unique. Do not for a moment construe these remarks as in any way intending to disparage the establishment of a symphony orchestra, for I hope to see founded here one

which will command the respect and admiration of the entire country. But the fact is that I love opera and experience a thrill of pride when I look back into the history of our local operatic institution. I know that of late years the companies brought here were, with very few exceptions, of mediocre calibre, but were they ever so very poor as to afford no pleasure or give no culture? Realize what a cultural influence the opera was to this community. Although it retarded our better acquaintance with *some* of the other forms of music, nevertheless it quickened our appreciation of *ALL* the forms of musical art by familiarizing us thoroughly with the works of many of the foremost masters. It is a splendid thing for an opera lover residing way down in Dixie land to be able to discuss intelligently with a cultured New Yorker, Londoner, Parisian, or Berliner a series of operas ranging from "Il Barbiere di Siviglia" to "Siberia" and "Don Quichotte." When asked his opinion of "Cendrillon" and "La Vivandière," the Orleanian of average culture does not have to wonder whether these peculiarly sounding things are hair restorers or new brands of perfume. Indeed, it might be said with a degree of assurance that the opera lover of moderate means residing in New Orleans knows more operatic music than does the opera lover in similar circumstances residing in any other American city supporting opera. Why? The reason is simple. For twenty-five cents during these latter days and for ten cents in days gone by, the opera lover could hear a grand opera in the "quatrième" (fourth tier). Is it a wonder, then, that he gratified his love for opera night after night, season after season? Many a real connoisseur has acquired his operatic education in the "secondes," where an excellent seat could be purchased for 75 cents. On Sunday matinees, for very many years, a grand opera could be witnessed at a cost of \$1 for the best seat. No wonder that so many operas are familiar to us. No wonder that, at social gatherings, gifted amateurs, without the least degree of vanity, will sing solos, duos, trios, etc., from many of the difficult operas in a manner that some professional singers might emulate.

It is quite evident that interest in local opera has waned. And yet, the most lethargic opera goer cannot but feel stirred

when he recalls that on the French Opera House stage have appeared such tenors as Tournié, Berger, Lafarge, Cossiri, Paulin, Gibert, Bonnard, Jérôme, Duc, Constantino, Escalais, Fontaine, Affre; such sopranos as Fursch-Madé Ambre, Patti, Lemaître, Hervey, Martini, Baux, Jau-Boyer, Foedor, Fiérens, Pacary, Padovani, Madier de Montjau, Korsoff; such baritones as Devoyod, Dumestre, Claverie, Albers, Mézy, Layolle; such basses as Castelmarty, Chavaroché, Bouxman, Van Hufflen, Huberty; such contraltos as Audibert, Adelaïde Phillips, Scalchi, Flachet, Duvivier, Bressler-Gianoli. Many of these names may mean nothing to the younger generation, but hear the older habitués speak with enthusiasm of their Tournié, Devoyod, Dumestre, Castelmarty; of their Patti, Fursch-Madé, Ambre, Audibert!

Let the younger generation recall performances of "La Reine de Saba" with Fiérens; "Salambo" with Pecary and Layolle; "La Navarraise" with Foedor and Albers; "La Traviata" and "Manon" with Montjau and Bonnard; "Lakmé" with Jérôme; "Le Jongleur" with Nuibo; "Romeo et Juliette" with Affre; "La Juive" with Duc; "Lucie" with Korsoff; "Sigurd" with Paulin and later with Fontaine; "Carmen" with Bressler-Gianoli; "Madame Butterfly" with Yerna and Cortez, and "Rigoletto" with Mézy—to name but a very few of the beautiful performances offered us—and witness their admission of the delights they experienced.

No doubt to Americans outside of New Orleans, even the names of many of the artists mentioned are quite unknown; but this is no argument against their worth. In France and Belgium—two countries which have not been neglectful of the fine arts, as every one will admit—these singers are far from being unknown quantities.

It was on the French Opera House stage, as we have seen, that Adelina Patti scored her early successes and where, according to a writer, her genius "received the stamp of approval that made it recognized throughout the capitals of the old world." It was on this same stage that Constantino and Riccardo Martin, whom Boston and New York later applauded, won their first American plaudits; It was after having been acclaimed on this stage that Mme. Bressler-Gianoli joined the Manhattan, and Chi-

cago Opera House forces, and that baritone Albers and tenor Gilbert became members of the Grau Opera Company. It was this stage which introduced to America Reyer's "Sigurd" and "Salambo;" Massenet's "Herodiade," "Cendrillon," "Esclarmonde," and "Don Quichotte;" Saint-Saens' "Sampson et Dalila," Giordano's "Siberia," Gounod's "La Reine de Saba"—to recall but a few of the important American "premières" held on its boards. It was New Orleans that first introduced French and Italian opera into America. It was New Orleans, too, of all American cities, that first established opera permanently.

REMINISCENCES OF THE FRENCH OPERA.

By MRS. EMILIE LEJEUNE.

After Mr. Loeb's discourse, there is very little to say about the French Opera of New Orleans; still, I should like to tell you of the many pleasant hours which I have spent there. As it is impracticable to do so, I will speak only of the most brilliant performance which it was my good fortune to witness within its historic walls, and I will endeavor to analyze the circumstances which made it memorable.

1. It took place in the early spring. To you I will not describe the charm of our spring-tide, for you have seen the splendor of our skies and the beauty of our flowers.

2. Our people, through all vicissitudes, retain the happy faculty of laying down their burdens, and making-believe that they are free from care and responsibility. It has become one of our social rituals; once a year we enter the kingdom of make-believe and pretend that we are joyous and happy—and who will say that we are not wise to do so.

3. I was almost a child, and gazed through the rose-tinted prism of youth.

4. We had that year, in 1872, an excellent troupe of French singers, whose names still linger in our memory: Levielli, Delabranche, Dumestre, Coulon, are names that are still remembered among us.

5. Also, in that year, New Orleans entertained a distinguished guest—his Imperial Highness, the Grand-Duke Alexis of Russia—and it was known that he would visit our Opera House on the Monday preceding Mardi Gras, and Verdi's "Trovatore," a universal favorite, was to be given.

Our box, a loge-grille (lattice box), commanded a view of the stage and proscenium boxes, and opened at the rear of the foyer, and from this coign of vantage nothing could escape my observant eyes.

The house, filled with a typical opera audience, in holiday mood, presented a beautiful appearance, for in the point-lace and diamonds, the flounces and furbelows of the period, women resembled animated flowers, while Gibson had not yet made it fashionable for men to be gaunt and hollow-eyed.

The proscenium boxes remained empty during the first act, but in the second act, after the Anvil Chorus, we were told that the Grand Duke had arrived, in a victoria upholstered in ruby satin and drawn by a superb pair of greys, which Mayor Flanders had placed at his disposal.

The performance was halted, the chorus and principal singers remaining on the stage, and from the rear entrance of our box, where I stood expectant, this is what I saw:

First came an official, holding aloft two bronze candlesticks and walking backwards. I had never seen anyone do that—it was interesting. Then came a blue-eyed giant—that was still more interesting, for I did not know they were found outside of story-books. The giant—I mean, the Grand Duke Alexis—was 6 feet 3 or 4 inches tall; in fact, quite as tall as his kinsman, the Grand Duke Nicholas, whose picture has recently become familiar to us. He was followed by his suite—an admiral, an excellency, the officers of his household; and they proceeded to the proscenium boxes, where they remained standing while the orchestra, led by Calabresi, played the Russian national hymn, after which the audience, which had risen to receive the Prince, greeted him with applause as hearty as it was dignified.

Everyone was then seated and the performance was resumed, the Grand Duke seemingly as much interested in the audience as with the artists, whom he frequently applauded, remained

until the dreary climax which ends the *Trovatore*, when all the members of the cast die suddenly and painfully. The tenor, as you no doubt remember, is beheaded; the contralto is burned alive; the soprano takes poison, and the barytone succumbs, presumably to heart failure. Still, such is the witchery of music, that, quite unsaddened by so dire a calamity, the audience gaily repaired to the St. Charles Hotel, where the Grand Duke was stopping, to sup under the same roof with royalty.

The impressions of childhood are so vivid that, although I have since then witnessed many operatic events, this that I have told you of has remained unique in my remembrance.

MUNICIPAL SUPPORT OF THEATRES AND OPERAS IN NEW ORLEANS.

MR. EDGAR GRIMA.

In November, 1836, the Council of Municipality No. 1 adopted a resolution, by a vote of more than two-thirds, whereby the Mayor, notwithstanding his veto, was authorized and required to subscribe \$200,000 to the capital of the New Orleans Theatre Company, in shares of \$100 each. To pay this subscription the Mayor was directed to give to the directors of the company 400 bonds of the municipality for \$500 each, payable thirty years after date, bearing interest at 6%, payable semi-annually.

The New Orleans Theatre Company had been incorporated by the Legislature in March, 1836, and the object of the Council in making this subscription is stated to have been to aid in the construction of a large theatre in the municipality which would contribute to its wealth and embellishment, and afford a place of relaxation and amusement that would tend to correct the morals and enlighten the minds of the citizens. In the month of March, 1837, the Legislature passed an act whereby the First Municipality was recognized as stockholders in the company and were authorized to make marine and fire risks in the same manner as the Merchants' Insurance Company. (Act 83 of 1837, p. 81, approved March 11, 1837.)

In 1838 a dividend was made, and the sum of \$6,000 was paid into the treasury of the municipality, as its portion of the profits. Before the municipality subscribed the \$200,000, the Orleans Theatre Company had purchased the (present) site of the Orleans Theatre and had commenced insurance operations.

This suit was brought to annul the subscription made in obedience to the resolution of the Council in 1836, to recover back the bonds issued in conformity thereto and the sum of \$16,500 paid as interest on them, on the grounds that the Council in 1836 had no right or authority to pass the resolution directing the subscription to the stock; that the power delegated to the said assembly was transcended and violated, whereby the act or resolution had become void and of no binding force.

It was further alleged that the resolution was of no effect, as the company had abandoned the intention of erecting a new theatre, and had purchased the old one, which it had repaired at a heavy expense.

The defendants in this suit averred that the resolution of the Council authorizing the subscription of \$200,000 was legal and binding; that the bonds had been appropriated in the manner authorized by law and were vested in the corporation of which the plaintiffs were members; that contracts with third parties had been based on the faith of them; that the intention of building a new theatre was not abandoned, but was delayed by the institution of the suit; and, further, that plaintiffs had not in any way called on them to build the same, although represented in its board of directors.

By act of March 14, 1816 (B. and C. Digest, p. 101, Sec. 1), the corporation of the City of New Orleans was vested with the power "to permit or to forbid theatres, balls, or other public amusements."

In rendering its decision in favor of the municipality the Court said: "Whatever may be our opinion as to the policy that dictated this measure, we are constrained to say that it is sanctioned by law, and cannot now be repudiated."—*The First Municipality of the City of New Orleans vs. The Orleans Theatre Company*, 2 Rob'n, p. 209, et seq.

The New Orleans Theatre Company, afterward named the Orleans Theatre Company (the "Compagnie du Théâtre d'Orléans" in the French text, and the "St. Charles Theatre, Arcade and Arcade Baths Company" were incorporated by Act No. 85 of 1836, of the Legislature, approved March 14, 1836, p. 165.

The object is not stated in the act.

By act of the Legislature, approved March 11, 1837, being Act No. 83 of said year, p. 81, Sec. 1, these two companies were invested with all the rights and powers granted to the Merchants' Insurance Company of New Orleans, as far as regards the power granted on marine and fire insurance.

The first Orleans Theatre had been constructed in 1809.

At that time the State and the city often gave their act to corporations formed for the development of the resources of this State or for works of public improvement and utility, such as railroads, banks, canal companies and the like.

NOTES ON GENERAL WILKINSON'S MEMORIAL AND MIRO AND NAVARRO'S DISPATCH No. 13.

By MR. GILBERT PEMBERTON.

When the American Revolution ended and liberated its armies from the sanguinary task of expelling Great Britain from the colonies, thus allowing its manhood to seek the more peaceful pursuits of constructive labor and trade, Kentucky, then a dependency of Virginia, had to have free access to the Mississippi River, which Spain then controlled, in order to subsist, and emigration into the Spanish colonies of Louisiana and Western Florida was at a standstill and their development retarded by Spanish conservatism, which favored the more Castillian colony of Mexico.

A short time after this, Esteban Miro, the idealist and dreamer, while still under the spell of the brilliant achievements of his impulsive and dashing chief, Don Bernardo de Galvez, whose conquest of Pensacola had inspired his former aide-de-camp with the desire of great deeds, became Governor of West-

ern Florida and Louisiana. Ably seconded by the shrewd Intendente, Don Martin Navarro, both sought to perfect plans for the development of their provinces, and were thus engaged when there entered upon the scene, in July, 1787, an enterprising genius in the person of Brigadier General James Wilkinson, retired, who, whilst traveling for the ostensible purpose of commerce (he brought several barges laden with Kentucky tobacco to justify his mission), really came down on a political mission as far reaching in its possibilities as any that had as yet been conceived by the men of that time.

The daring brilliancy of Wilkinson's plan, its vastness, the masterly manner in which he presented it, and the irrefutable arguments which he advanced in support of his scheme for an empire, which would have startled the world and changed the destiny of millions of people, bewildered, then dazzled good Don Esteban, and he immediately became one of its staunchest supporters, all for the honor and glory of his God and king. So with Martin Navarro, but for other reasons. Brought up in a different school, he saw in Wilkinson's project untold power and wealth for Spain and urged its accomplishment from the standpoint of a good administrator.

Post-revolutionary conditions made a promoter of Wilkinson, and he was a clever promoter, a plausible one. One with an imagination vivid enough to enable him to go beyond the promotion of world's fairs, banks and railroads or the analogous projects of his day, to the promotion of nothing less than an empire. Brilliant, dashing, of fine address and appearance and remarkably talented, he favorably impressed all those with whom he came in contact. Miro was delighted with him; so was Navarro. The former saw him through the eyes of Don Quixote, and good old Don Martin hastened to arrange loans for Wilkinson with the merchants of New Orleans, so as to enable him to better further the interests of the king and thus lay the foundation for the empire which the three had agreed was indispensable to the security of Spain and the happiness and prosperity of the people of Kentucky, Louisiana and Western Florida, and which, had their plans carried out, would have made New Orleans the greatest city of the North American continent.

But what was this empire? It was the union of Kentucky, Cumberland, Franklin and other settlements of the Ohio west of the Appalachian Mountains; their separation from the jurisdiction of the United States, and the welding of them to Louisiana and Western Florida, thus grouping in one marvelous whole the richest country under the sun, with the Mississippi and its tributaries reaching out in every direction to afford easy and cheap transportation to the sea. By this simple operation the United States (whose aggressiveness worried Spain considerably) would be confined within the borders of the original colonies; Great Britain, who looked upon all this territory with covetous eyes, would also be kept within the confines of her Canadian boundaries, and Spain would become the controlling power in North as well as South America, with an impregnable barrier to protect the kingdom of Mexico, "whose silver," Wilkinson very aptly says, in his memorial, "is an object of universal temptation," against any attempt on the part of Great Britain to invade or disturb the said kingdom. At the same time New Orleans was to become a free port through which all the wealth of the above country was to find an outlet, and altogether the thing had been thought out so that while none of the glitter and glamour would be eliminated, yet, that the whole argument should rest upon sound principles of good politics. The plan itself was practical and based on circumstances as they then existed, *i. e.*, dissatisfaction of the western settlements with the Federal government, who favored the Atlantic coast states against the western people, and economic conditions resulting therefrom, threatening ruin and misery for Kentucky and the aforesaid settlements without any apparent disposition on the part of Congress to pass measures to relieve their distress. The enterprise would have been carried out, except for the dilatory tactics of the Court of Spain and the jealousy of Don Diego de Gardoqui, the then minister of Spain to the United States, for this worthy undoubtedly used his influence to delay action. This is an inference suggested by the correspondence of all the parties, rather than a statement of fact. Further, as Wilkinson's and Miro's carefully laid plans developed, we find a host of rival bidders for the same object which Wilkinson's brain had conceived, and all these did great honor to his talents by imitating but never equalling him.

The said Memorial and Despatch No. 13 have only recently been found in the archives of the Louisiana Historical Society. They were immediately translated and have never been published. They disclose the spirit in which Wilkinson conceived his dream of empire and the reasons and circumstances that prompted the notables of Kentucky to send him to New Orleans to try to enlist Spain in behalf of the neglected settlements of the Ohio. The correspondence which follows is of the same high order. Some of it has been published, and some has just been translated. There are still about four hundred pages in the original Spanish which shed much light upon this episode of our history.

But to go back to Wilkinson: In reviewing, in his Memorial, the political and economic conditions of Kentucky and the western settlements, their discontent with the Federal government, their growing power and the danger that Spain would naturally incur if these settlements would consolidate and accept the advances of Great Britain, which nation, since the close of the Revolution had been constantly intriguing to separate them from the United States, he epitomizes his whole argument in the following "facts and inferences:"

"First: That the American settlements, whose rivers flow into the Mississippi, are powerful and, on account of their nature, irresistible, and should daily increase in strength."

"Second: That the navigation of the Mississippi is the fountain from which they (the Kentuckians) must hope for future relief and comfort, in consequence of which each individual is of himself attentive to this object, and through the powerful incentive of self-preservation will employ any means, no matter how desperate, to attain it."

"Third. That, in order to promote this much desired end, they are working to separate themselves from the American Union, and that Congress has neither the power nor the inclination to prevent this measure."

"Fourth: That the notables of these new settlements are considering two projects, either one of which they believe can be conducive to the success of this, their favorite object, *i. e.*, an amicable arrangement with Spain, or hostilities with the help of Great Britain."

"Fifth and last: That the above mentioned settlements have determined to make the first propositions to Spain, and, in case these are not accepted, to embrace the policies of Great Britain."

Assuming with reason, that he was holding the attention of his readers by the directness of his statements, he tells them that, as a natural sequence to the above "facts and inferences," the following questions must naturally arise in the minds of the Spanish Cabinet:

First: Will we be able to perpetually resist in their designs on the navigation of the Mississippi, the Americans living west of the Appalachian Mountains, powerful as they are already, increasing in strength from day to day and assisted by a respectable European power?

Second: Will resistance for a few years recompense H. M. for the expense incurred, and may not that resistance produce to the Spanish monarchy worse consequences than the loss of Louisiana?

Third: Will it not be preferable to attract these settlements by means of some concessions and accommodations, thus making them serve the interests of Spain rather than compel them, through rigorous means, to throw themselves into the arms of Great Britain?

Wilkinson hesitates in answering these questions, saying that they are worthy of the attention of the most notable minds of Europe, and with faltering hands he continues to explain himself thus: "The American settlements abound with men accustomed to the life, habits and manner of warfare with the savages, who know how to procure their subsistence with their arms, and thus find themselves continually prepared for war and hazardous undertakings; these men, forced into idleness on account of not finding an outlet for the product of their labors, may be induced by a man of influence to any extreme of desperation; the silver of Mexico is an object of universal temptation, and I am sure that if these Americans do not find it through the Mississippi they will endeavor to do so in that kingdom through Illinois."

The boldness of his assertion evidently won over his readers. They did not see the implied threat, else they would have spurned him.

Then he goes on to tell them of the intrigues of South American revolutionists, who seek in England arms and ammunitions and who are promised aid and comfort by the prime minister; how these were almost led into believing that the people of Kentucky could be induced to attack Spain simultaneously with them so that the former might obtain the free navigation of the Mississippi, and thus Spain, finding herself attacked at two vital points, on bad terms with Great Britain, and not specially strong, would be reduced to impotence. After so shrewdly pointing out these real dangers and unfolding his plan to counteract them, he relates how the notables of Kentucky, chafing under the inconveniences and privations brought about by the restrictions placed on their commerce, have sent him on this mission to find out if it would be agreeable to Spain to admit the Kentuckians "under her protection as vassals of Spain," and how a man of popularity and gifted with political talents, by cooperating with the above circumstances, could "*alienate the western Americans from the United States, destroy the insidious designs of Great Britain and throw the western Americans into the arms of Spain.*"

Then the proposition to separate all the western country from the United States and annexing it to Louisiana, under the mild and beneficent control of Spain, is boldly outlined.

Miro and Navarro must have gasped for breath.

Their Despatch No. 13 to Valdes is reeking with repressed excitement, and in it they congratulate themselves that such an offer should have been made to Spain during their regime and that they might have the opportunity of cooperating in successfully carrying out the plan as indicated by Wilkinson.

Wilkinson, on the other hand, provisionally swears allegiance to Spain as a guarantee of good faith. This oath of allegiance is a remarkable document. It is a courageous, frank and apparently sincere expression of his convictions, based upon circumstances beyond his control, and reads as follows:

DECLARATION.

"Interest regulates the passions of nations, as also those of individuals, and he who attributes a different motive to human affairs deceives himself or seeks to deceive others: although I

sustain this great truth, I will not, however, deny that every man owes something to the land of his birth and in which he was educated. This something, no matter in what form it manifests itself, is founded on self-pride. For example, an Irishman in Spain, a Spaniard in France, a Frenchman in England, or an Englishman wherever he may find himself, will glory in reciting the virtues of his respective nation, and will be pained or angered at any manifestation of its misfortune or dishonor, but to affirm that an intelligent being, who is able to act freely, must, like a plant, take root in the place which by chance witnessed his birth, would be to dispose of the wisdom of Providence and condemn the universal practice of the human race.

"When a distinguished person intends to expatriate himself, he should proceed with caution and circumspection, weigh carefully the obligations that subsist between himself and his country, see whether he is bound by some link of public confidence, positive or implied; he must consider that this course will wound the self-pride of those he is about to abandon, and, as a consequence, he will expose all his life and actions to the severest scrutiny, and his reputation and character to the blows and jibes of gossip and calumny. Profoundly impressed by these important truths, leaving apart all passion and prejudice, I appeal to the intelligence which God's bounty has given me, and have matured my decision in accordance with the dictates of reason, honor and conscience.

"Possessed of these principles and adopting this opinion, I hope it may never be said of me, with justice, that in changing my allegiance from the United States of America to H. C. M., I have broken any laws of nature or of nations, nor of honor and conscience.

"Born and educated in America, I embraced its cause in the last revolution, and remained faithful to its interest until its triumph over its enemies: this occurrence has now rendered my services useless, discharged me of my pledge, dissolved my obligations, even those of nature, and left me at liberty, after having fought for her happiness, to seek my own; circumstances and the politics of the United States, having made it impossible to obtain this desired end under its government, I am resolved to

seek it in Spain, where I trust that my conduct shall be directed by such principles of loyalty and justice in my relations with my fellow-citizens as to assure the tranquillity of my conscience and that my name be handed down intact to posterity.

"Thus, not only the respect for my own reputation, which I value infinitely more than life, but also that which I profess for you gentlemen to whom I have the honor of addressing myself, have induced me to suppose that in any event of my future career I may depend on you as depositaries of my honor, to give testimony that my principles and the motives which prompted my conduct are the good of the country in which I live and the interest and aggrandizement of the Spanish monarchy; in faith of which I sign herewith on the 22nd day of August, in the year of our Lord 1787.

JAMES WILKINSON."

It has been said that Wilkinson was corrupt; that he had received bounties and benefits from Spain. So he had. With praiseworthy foresight, though, he explains to Miro and Navarro that, financially speaking, he is not a man of consequence, and he goes on to say, "I hope, however, that no wrong will be surmised if at the same time I labor to further the work that may produce the aggrandizement of Spain and the prosperity of thousands of souls, I should attempt to secure the stability and welfare of my family." Then he seeks permission to bring to New Orleans tobacco and produce from Kentucky, which will not only yield profits for the promotion of the cause, but will also open the eyes of the reactionaries of Kentucky to the possibilities of trade and make them all eager to join the movement to become vassals of Spain. The cargoes were to be handled here by Daniel Clark, the merchant prince of the day. His demands were granted in part. Later he solicited and was granted a pension of \$2,000 per annum to compensate his personal expenditures, and once Miro loaned him \$7,000 on a well-secured note.

It appears that Daniel Clark subsequently wrote a pamphlet in connection with Wilkinson's relations with the Spanish Governor, entitled "Proofs of Wilkinson's Corruption," in which he makes various charges against the General. Clark, as has been said, was the consignee of Wilkinson's tobacco and the one who

financed his deals in consideration of fifty per cent of the proceeds, and as these were perfectly secured by the Spanish hacienda who bought the tobacco for account of the Crown, the profits which Clark received must have been considerable. Perhaps Wilkinson found someone who would finance his affairs for only twenty-five per cent, hence Shylock squealed. However, in view of the exorbitant interest Clark charged Wilkinson, his evidence is not very valuable, as, to say the least of it, his sense of the nicety of things was not keenly developed.

It is impossible to follow here the great venture of Wilkinson, Miro and Navarro step by step. It is too long. But a reading of some of the documents that will be available shortly will amply reward those doing so, for they are as interesting as a novel. We find that Wilkinson had a host of competitors, but that he and Miro were always able to defeat their plans, although they were not able to ultimately carry out their own. Colonel Morgan, Inness, Brown, Judge Sebastian, Captain Cape, General Clark, Doctor O'Fallon and others tried to supersede Wilkinson in Spanish favor, but without success. Doctor O'Fallon, who, notwithstanding that his offers to Wilkinson had been repeatedly spurned, went so far as to accuse him of duplicity. Neither Miro nor Gayoso de Lemos, then Commandant at Natchez, believed O'Fallon, and his charges only made him more suspicious in their eyes.

Finally Miro sickened and was obliged to leave his post. After years of hard work he was succeeded by Don Luis Hector Baron de Carondelet, but it is questionable whether a more devoted and more honest Governor ever ruled over the destinies of Louisiana. He was the first real dyed-in-the-wool booster New Orleans ever had. Inspired by Wilkinson's enthusiasm and for a time guided by the level-headed Navarro, he strained every nerve to obtain from his superiors commercial concessions for New Orleans and the province in general.

In his dispatches referring to the Wilkinson matter, he never tires in pointing out the many advantages New Orleans possesses and how they can be developed, and how the people of the Atlantic seaboard, by their energy and enterprise, have nullified these advantages. He urges and urges the remedy—a

free port, lower ocean charges, etc., the same old story of today. Only then he had Spanish conservatism to contend with, and today we have——. Oh, well! Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

Miro's departure put a quietus on Wilkinson, whose venture had been languishing more and more. The scheme which he so brilliantly conceived and which he advocated and fought for so long was followed up, however. The seed had been sown and, whilst the flower did not bloom just as he had planned, yet did he help to gather it, for Jefferson did not hesitate to employ him, in spite of his well-known negotiations with Spain, to assist him in the Louisiana Purchase and to make him the Military Representative of the United States in this territory; and thus Wilkinson saw the lands of his dreams welded into the one great whole which comprises the richest, the most beautiful and most romantic part of these great United States—one indivisible and unconquerable.

MEETING OF MAY, 1916.

The Louisiana Historical Society held its monthly meeting Wednesday evening, May 17, in the Cabildo. There was a good attendance, with the President and Secretary present. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. A communication from the Secretary of the St. Louis Cathedral Restoration Committee was read with the account of the Treasurer for expenditures of the money contributed to the restoration fund of 1913.

There were no reports from the various committees.

Mr. Cusachs introduced the essayist of the evening, Mr. James Wilkinson, who had prepared a careful and elaborate paper on the character and public services of his great grandfather, General James Wilkinson, who was so prominent a character in the early history of Kentucky and Louisiana. The paper, one of the most valuable historically ever read before the Society, was an examination in detail of the well-known charges once preferred against Wilkinson by historians of a past generation, and, in the opinion of members expressed with enthusiastic unanimity, General Wilkinson's vindication was established beyond a doubt.

The Society expressed its gratitude to Mr. James Wilkinson volubly, and its great satisfaction that he had so clearly and eloquently argued and in fact settled a historical question that has always figured as an ugly episode in the history of the country.

As Mr. Wilkinson will publish his paper in the Society records, no mention need be made here of the fine collection of historical letters bearing distinguished autographs with which he reinforced his argument, carrying it to a triumph.

[NOTE.—This valuable paper was withdrawn from the "Annual" to be added to the contents of the second "Quarterly" published by the Society.]

No further business was transacted. The Society adjourned to meet in June.

MEETING OF SEPTEMBER, 1916.

The Louisiana Historical Society held its first meeting after the long summer vacation on Wednesday evening, September 20, at the Cabildo. The attendance of members was small.

Mr. John Dymond presided in the absence of Mr. Cusachs. The Secretary read the report of the last meeting in May; it was approved. The following were elected members of the Society: Miss Blanche McCord, 5238 Prytania street; Mr. Charles Bray, Orpheum Theatre; Mr. J. Fair Harden, Leesville, La.; Mr. Lea Freeman.

A letter was read from the American Highway Commission, asking the Historical Society to cooperate with other historical societies in suggesting names for new roads to be opened. On motion of Mr. Glenk, the Society agreed to refer it to the Executive Committee to act.

Mr. W. O. Hart announced that, through the good offices of Mr. Colomb, one of the rifles found in the St. Louis Hotel, now being wrecked, would be presented to the Historical Museum by the wrecking company employed; also, through Mr. Edenborn, the corner-stone of the old historical hotel would be given to the Society. No further business being offered, Mr. Dymond presented Mr. Monahan of Algiers, who read an article from a recent number of the Times-Picayune on the old burying ground of Algiers.

Dr. Lemonnier, being present, was asked by Mr. Dymond to speak on the old times in Louisiana, which he did most acceptably. General Booth also added a few remarks. Mr. Monahan was thanked, and Mr. Hart then presented a carefully prepared and most interesting paper on the early work in Louisiana of the Bible Society, under Messrs. Mills and Schermerhorn, whose reports gave many quaint historical facts connected with the work. Mr. Hart called upon a granddaughter of Mr. Schermerhorn, who was present, Mrs. Huffman, and she kindly added a few biographical notes on her grandfather, closing Mr. Hart's valuable contribution.

The Society then adjourned to meet in October.

THE BIBLE IN LOUISIANA A CENTURY AGO.

**Paper Read by W. O. Hart Before the Louisiana Historical Society,
September 20, 1916.**

The American Bible Society was organized May 8, 1816, and its centennial year was celebrated with proper ceremonies and exercises in this city at the First Methodist Church on Sunday, March 5th, and in this connection a brief account of the introduction of Bibles in this State and of the organization of the Louisiana Bible Society may prove of interest.

During the years 1812 and 1813, Rev. John F. Schermerhorn and Rev. Samuel J. Mills, conducted a missionary tour through most of the western and southern parts of the United States. They were guided by instructions received from the trustees of certain missionary societies in New England. The principal objects of their mission were to preach the gospel to the destitute, to explore the country and learn its moral and religious state, and to promote the establishment of Bible societies, and of other religious and charitable institutions.

On their way they found Bible societies in Ohio and Kentucky, and perhaps in other places. On July 29, 1812, they stopped with a Mr. Blackburn at Franklin, Tennessee, and at this point I beg to quote from the report of Mr. Mills:

"We consulted with Mr. Blackburn on the expediency of pursuing our course down the river to New Orleans. He advised us to go, and assisted in making the necessary preparations.

It was thought best for us to descend the river. General Jackson was expecting to go in a few days, with about 1500 volunteers, to Natchez. Mr. Blackburn introduced us to the General, who, having become acquainted with our design, invited us to take passage on board his boat. We accepted the invitation; and, after providing some necessary stores for the voyage, and making sale of our horses, we embarked on the 10th of January, 1813. We came to the mouth of the Ohio the 27th, where we lay by three days on account of the ice. On the 31st we passed New Madrid, and the 16th of February arrived at Natchez.

"We left Natchez the 12th of March, and went on board a flat-bottomed boat, where our accommodations were but indifferent. The weather was generally pleasant, and we arrived at New Orleans the 19th. The distance is 300 miles. For 100 miles above New Orleans, the banks of the river were cleared, and in descending the river you pass many very elegant plantations. The whole of this distance the banks appear like one continued village. The greater part of the inhabitants are ignorant of almost everything except what relates to the increase of their property; destitute of schools, Bibles, and religious instruction. In attempting to learn the religious state of these people, we were frequently told that they had no Bibles and that the priests did not allow of their distribution among them. An American, who had resided two or three years at a place which has the appearance of being a flourishing settlement, informed me that he had not seen a Bible during his stay at the settlement. He added that he had heard that a woman from the State of New York had lately brought one into the place.

"Soon after our arrival, we introduced the subject of a Bible society. It directly met the wishes of the religious people with whom we had become acquainted. As we had letters of introduction to Governor Claiborne, we called upon him in company with a friend. The object of our coming to the place was stated to him, and he approved of it. A proposal for a meeting was readily signed by him and by twelve of the members of the Legislature, who were then in session. About twenty more, principally merchants belonging to the city, added their names to the list. At the time appointed for establishing a society, the greater part of those who subscribed to the proposal met. Previous to the meeting a constitution had been formed, and was presented for their approbation, should it meet the wishes of those present. The constitution was read and considered, article by article, and adopted. All present appeared much gratified with the opening prospect.

"We found that, in order to have the Bible circulate freely, the consent of those high in office must be obtained. We were frequently told, that the Catholic priests would by no means favor the object. We were referred to Father Antonio (popularly known as Pere Antoine), as he is called, who has greater influence with those of his order than even the bishop, who has lately arrived from Baltimore. If the consent of the former could be obtained, it was allowed by those with whom we conversed that much might be done toward distributing the Scriptures among the French Catholics. We took a convenient opportunity to call upon the reverend father. The subject was mentioned to him. He said he should be pleased to have the Bible circulate among those of his order, and that he would approve of the translation distributed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. In addition to this, he said he would aid in the circulation of the Scriptures, should an opportunity present. We inquired of him whether the priests in the different parishes would likewise favor the good work? At this inquiry he seemed surprised, and answered, 'How can you doubt it? It is for their interest to circulate the Scriptures.' We have since called upon the bishop. He also gave his consent and said he would contribute in favor of the infant institution. This disposition in the Catholic priests to favor the circulation of the Scriptures has very much surprised all with whom we had conversed on the subject in the city. The priests acknowledged the nakedness of the land. Father Antonio gave it as his opinion that we should very rarely find a Bible in any of the French or Spanish Catholic families in any of the parishes. And the bishop remarked that he did not believe there were ten Bibles in the possession of all the Catholic families in the state; and these families constitute three-fourths of the population of the state, people of color excepted, as is believed by men of information. When we came to this place we found a number of French Bibles and Testaments had been sent here for distribution gratis and had been on hand some time. They are now all disposed of, and repeated inquiries are made for those books. I happened to be in Mr. Stackhouse's store a short time since. During my stay, which was short, five or six persons came in, inquiring for the Bible in the French language. The present is certainly a new and interesting era in the history of New Orleans. Mr. Stackhouse informs me that if he had fifty Bibles he could dispose of them at once."

The Louisiana Bible Society was organized on the 29th of March, 1813, and on the 25th of April, 1815, a most elaborate report of its most important work was made by Alfred Hennen, the great Louisiana lawyer, who was its secretary, and this re-

port is so interesting and probably known to so few, that I think in its entirety it should be referred to at this time. It reads as follows:

"The Bibles (in English) and the New Testaments (in French) which we have hitherto circulated are the donations of other sister societies.

"From the New York Bible Society was received, in the summer of 1813, a donation of 150 English Bibles, through the hands of the Rev. Messrs. Schermerhorn and Mills. From the Massachusetts Bible Society was received, in the month of February, 1815, a donation of 140 English Bibles, sent on by the Rev. Messrs. Mills and Smith, visiting this country as *missionaries*. By the same gentlemen the Philadelphia Bible Society has forwarded 3,000 French New Testaments, a part of the edition of 5,000 which the Society, aided by sister societies and different individuals, has printed for gratuitous distribution among the French of the State of Louisiana, and the Territories of Missouri and Illinois.

"From the British and Foreign Bible Society, the parent of a thousand like institutions existing in Europe and America, we have to acknowledge a generous donation of 100 pounds sterling; one among many other instances of the very extended and benevolent views of that most noble institution of modern times.

"Of the English Bibles there have been distributed 64 among 300 British prisoners in the public prison at New Orleans, 30 among the 300 patients of the United States hospital (of whom 180 were British prisoners), 31 among 240 sick in hospitals of the Kentucky militia.

31 among 266 sick in hospitals of the Tennessee militia.

34 among 360 sick in hospitals of the Louisiana militia.

8 among 50 sick in the United States Navy Hospital.

36 among the heads of American families in the County of Attakapas.

42 among the heads of American families on the Amite and Comite rivers, Florida.

44 to individuals at New Orleans.

290 in the whole, and leaving the Society without a single Bible in English, at a time, too, in which numerous applications are making for them.

"Of 3000 copies of the French New Testament received in this city, there have been distributed:

2000 among the inhabitants of New Orleans and its environs.

112 have been sent for distribution to the County of Natchitoches.

42 for the County of Rapides.

200 to the County of Attakapas.

800 copies of the French New Testament have been forwarded by the Philadelphia Bible Society, and committed to the care of different gentlemen residing on the river between this city and Natchez for gratuitous distribution among the inhabitants of their vicinity.

"The want of Bibles in Louisiana has been extreme; and it will yet require a very considerable number to supply in an adequate manner the families which are destitute of the Word of God. Had three thousand English Bibles and as many New Testaments been in the hands of the managers at the beginning of the past winter, they could have been distributed in this city with the greatest facility, and it is believed with much advantage; so good an opportunity will not probably occur for some time to come. Our regular troops and militia then here were remarkably destitute of the Scriptures.

"It was very unusual to find any portion of the sacred volume among our soldiers; and in many instances there were found an hundred sick in a hospital without having among them one Bible or New Testament.

"Some of the Tennessee militia, when passing through Nashville on their way to New Orleans, had inquired in vain for a Bible; not one was to be found for sale; and in the month of December last a similar inquiry was fruitlessly made in this city by a gentleman from the Amite—*nor is there at this moment a Bible to be purchased in a bookstore in the City of New Orleans.*

"The inhabitants of Florida, who are principally Americans, are generally without the Scriptures; so are the other Americans, for the most part, throughout the state. It has been supposed, and it is believed with the strictest correctness, that before the transmission of a few French Bibles to New Orleans by the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the year 1813, there were not ten among the French inhabitants of Louisiana.

"The manner in which the Scriptures have been received by those to whom they have been distributed is highly gratifying and encourages the belief that the labors of those who have united in this work will not be lost.

"The Tennessee and Kentucky troops received the Bibles with no ordinary willingness—it seemed to be received by many of them as '*a pearl of great price.*'

"As there were not Bibles sufficient to supply even the sick in hospitals, who were anxious to receive them, it was not uncommon to see one reading aloud to several around; and at other times two or three lying on the floor together would be attempting to read in the same book at the same time. Some of

those who had received Bibles declared their intention to carry them home with them on foot 800 or 1000 miles, and rather than not carry them they said they would throw away part of their baggage.

“The French have received the New Testaments with much satisfaction. It is possible that some have asked for it from curiosity; but very many have done so from a wish to *search the Scriptures*, which numbers declared they had never seen before. It must give pleasure to every philanthropic mind to learn that the rising generation in this city, heretofore destitute of any book of instruction, has now a class book used throughout our schools – that those children whose parents were unable from the exorbitant price of school books and the pressure of the war to furnish them, have now a book ‘which hath God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter.’

“Although the three thousand copies of the New Testament in French had been received by the president of the society about the middle of December last, owing to the disturbed situation of the country, at that time invaded, none of them were distributed until about the 10th of February. After a few persons had received the New Testament and it had become generally known that there were more in the hands of one of the managers, who had been appointed to make the gratuitous distribution of the whole number designed for the city, the applications were more frequent than could be supplied. A large crowd of some hundreds of people of all colors and ranks was formed before the house, and became literally clamorous to have ‘a book,’ a word which was often vociferated in French by fifty voices at once.

“Such an assembly, for such a purpose, never before witnessed in Louisiana, presented to the beholder many affecting scenes. The young and the old, the rich and the poor, as if alike conscious of their wants, pressed forward with outstretched hands to receive the valuable gift. A child of not more than five or six years of age, was borne in the arms of its mother, a woman of color, pressing through the crowd as one of the candidates for a treasure which she seemed justly to esteem. The silence and attention exhibited by the bystanders was immediately rewarded by hearing this infant read, in an intelligent manner, the story related in Mark x, 13, 16: (‘And they brought young children to Him, that He should teach them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, He was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is

the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And He took them up in His arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.') rendered doubly interesting by the incident.

"As all who presented themselves for a French New Testament were asked if they could read, and if any doubts existed, were put to the trial, an aged black woman, being asked the usual question and requested to prove the fact, answered that she could not without her spectacles, which she had not with her; but unwilling to depart until the object of her wishes had been obtained, she renewed her application, and observed to the distributor, 'If I get a book by a falsehood it will not be deceiving you, but God.' Many persons who could not read themselves wished the New Testament for their children, who, they said, would read it for them.

"The managers have received the hearty cooperation of many individuals in distributing the French New Testament. The Reverend Father Antonio de Sedilla, the curate of the parish, has taken an active part in aiding the circulation of the New Testament among the Catholics; the countenance given by him to the views of the Society is of the highest importance, from the great influence which he has among his parishioners.

"We acknowledge likewise with pleasure the aid of several gentlemen; nor in any instance has assistance been refused.

"The British prisoners, to whom a portion of the English Bibles were distributed, manifested the sincerest joy and gratitude; most of them had been supplied with Bibles or Testaments previous to their embarkation for this country; and some (as appeared by a printed notification in the Testaments) by the Naval Bible Association, established as long ago as 1780, but having left their heavy baggage at their camp on the 8th of January, the day on which a general assault was made on the lines near this city, they became destitute when made prisoners.

"During the past year this Society has received many interesting reports from the numerous Bible societies now established in the United States. The information contained in them is in a high degree gratifying and encouraging to the promoters of these associations. Some few extracts from these valuable communications will be found in the appendix. The committee, however, cannot omit on this occasion earnestly to recommend the perusal of such reports; they afford the best views of the design, the utility and progress of these societies.

"Before concluding this report the committee beg leave to call upon the Society for a cordial union in the vigorous prosecution of diffusing the light of 'the glorious gospel of the blessed God.'

"The gospel is entrusted to us, not for our own sakes only, but for the benefit of the world. We receive, that we may communicate. Religion, like other blessings, is to be diffused by human agency and human benevolence. It has flowed to us through the zeal and labor of those who have gone before us; and we are bound to repay the debt by spreading it around us, and transmitting it unimpaired to succeeding ages. To this most worthy cause of God and holiness, of human happiness and virtue, a cause which can never fail, which is destined to survive the schemes of statesmen, and the trophies of conquerors, let us attach ourselves with a disinterested and persevering zeal which will prove us followers of Him who lived and died to enlighten and redeem mankind.

"Great and magnificent is the undertaking in which we are engaged; great, too, are the consequences which we may rationally hope will be their result. Let no minor difficulties impede our progress; rather let them animate our exertions and quicken our pace. The hundredth part of the zeal and humanity of a Howard, exerted by each of us, would convey the Bible to the most secluded mansion in our country—would put into the hands of the widow, the fatherless and the afflicted the words of everlasting consolation.

"A zeal like His pervading our institutions would print the word of God in every language of the earth, and give to every son of Adam 'the Scriptures, which are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.' Let no objections of infidels, or pretended friends, make us hesitate or swerve from the way; though the Bible alone has not yet converted whole nations, it may be the first step in the grand undertaking; it may prepare the way for missionaries; and though, in countries denominated Christian, much ignorance and vice may remain after the Bible has been generally distributed, no one can say that it may not have extirpated much which would have taken root had no exertions been made to repress them. 'The operation of the Bible is necessarily gradual and noiseless: its provinces is the heart, and its best fruits are those mild and humble virtues, which ask no notice but from the eye of God. It is enough to know that we have sown the good seed of divine truth, and we may leave it with confidence to Him, whose grace descends as the dew, and who has promised that the desert and solitary place shall blossom as the rose.'

And the following was appended to the report:

"New Orleans, April 25.

"Since the report was written, a box containing thirty Bibles in French, and twelve New Testaments in Spanish, printed and bound in an elegant manner by the British and Foreign Bible

Society, have been forwarded to the president of the Society, a present truly valuable."

Mr. Mills made a second missionary trip to the west and southwest of the United States, leaving Boston in 1814, accompanied by Rev. Daniel Smith, and, in speaking of Louisiana, these gentlemen said:

"There are American families in this part of our country who never saw a Bible nor heard of Jesus Christ. It is a fact that ought not to be forgotten that so lately as March, 1815, a Bible in any language could not be found, for sale, or to be given away, in New Orleans. And yet eight thousand Bibles would not supply the destitute of this state."

On this second visit to New Orleans, Mr. Mills did much to relieve the desolations discovered on his former tour, and especially in the distribution of the Holy Scriptures.

From his journal I make the following extracts:

"February 10, 1815. This morning I called upon Mr. Hennen, and concluded, at his request, to take lodgings with him for the present. I called in company with Mr. H. at the public prison. There are 300 English soldiers in the prison. A number of Bibles had sometime since been distributed among them, by one of the managers of the Society. We found many of them reading with great attention and seriousness the copies which had been furnished them. We gave them some additional supply. They received the Bibles with evident expressions of joy and gratitude. They returned many thanks for them. More or less of the soldiers are, it is said, apparently pious men. They informed us that many of them were furnished with Bibles or Testaments, but left them on board the fleet.

"The succeeding day I called at the United States Hospital, in company with Mr. Nicholson. There are 300 men sick and wounded in the hospital; 180 are English prisoners. Upon examining the several wards, we found that some of the prisoners had brought their Bibles from the fleet, but this was rarely the case. A number of the sick and wounded, both English and Americans, expressed an earnest desire to be possessed of the sacred Scriptures. Called at the Navy Hospital, containing about forty sick. There was not a Bible among them, as we could learn; but more or less will thankfully receive them. We called at three different places where a part of the sick soldiers belonging to the Kentucky detachment are quartered. The whole number of sick at these houses is 120. Many of them received the information with great satisfaction when informed that some of them could be furnished with Bibles. This was manifest from their

countenances, and from the numerous applications which were made for this blessed book. In one of the houses we found a number of the sick lying on the floor. One was reading from a New Testament to those around him. They had not a Bible in the house.

"On the 12th, in the morning, I called with a friend at the Charity Hospital. There are forty sick soldiers at this hospital belonging to the Tennessee troops. They had not a copy of the sacred Scriptures. A number were very pressing in their solicitations that we would supply them. We observed to them that they would probably soon leave the hospital for Tennessee, and, as they expected to travel on foot eight hundred or a thousand miles, they could not carry their Bibles with them, should they be supplied. Some of them answered at once that they would leave some other articles rather than their Bibles. Upon our return we sent a number of Bibles to the hospital. We called at three different places, which we visited yesterday, occupied by the sick belonging to the Kentucky detachment, and distributed among them seventeen Bibles. They were thankfully received. The minds of many of the sick appear to be solemnly affected. We hope there are some godly persons among them. We explained to them the object of the Bible Society, and charged those who received copies of the Bible to make good use of them:

"13th. We sent a number of Bibles to a fourth house occupied by about forty sick Kentucky soldiers; and received many thanks for them. Visited a house occupied by the sick troops from Tennessee. There were 100 sick at this house, but not a Bible among them all. We left one in each room. Visited the United States Hospital, and distributed thirty Bibles among the destitute. Many applications were made for the sacred Scriptures with which we could not comply.

"16th. We visited a hospital occupied by the Tennessee troops. One hundred are sick at this place. They had no Bibles in the house. Found a few leaves of the Old Testament in the possession of one of the soldiers. Distributed among them fourteen Bibles. They were very thankfully received.

"17th. Today there was a meeting of the managers of the Bible Society. They voted their thanks to the societies that had generously aided them by donations in Bibles.

"18th. I visited today, in company with Mr. H., one of the hospitals at which we had previously called, and in which we had left a few copies of the Bible. Some of the men had died since our first visit to them, and others had so far recovered as to be able to leave the house; and their places had been supplied by the sick brought in from the camp. We found a num-

ber of the rooms containing eight or ten sick without a copy of the sacred Scriptures. Supplied one copy to each room and received many thanks.

"22d. I crossed the river today and visited the sick soldiers in the barracks. I informed those I visited that there were some Bibles on hand to be given to the sick and destitute. There were many applications for them. During my stay at the barracks I was at six or eight of the rooms. There was not a Bible to be found in any of them.

"23d. This morning more than 400 English prisoners left this place. They went on board the steamboat and two sloops which were to carry them to the fleet, or the proper vessel prepared to receive them, lying off the mouth of the river.

"After their departure I called at the prison and obtained leave of the keeper to examine the rooms which had been vacated by the prisoners in order to ascertain whether any of the Bibles we had distributed were remaining in them; but not a Bible had been left, nor the remnant of a religious tract. The prisoners had retained them all. The servant informed me that he saw them packing them up in their knapsacks a little time previous to their departure.

"From the manner in which the prisoners received the Bibles and from the care with which they preserved them, we have reason to believe they will be very serviceable to many of them.

"25th. This morning I crossed the river to visit the sick soldiers in the barracks, now converted into hospitals. There are 360 in the barracks. Many of them appeared in some measure rightly to estimate the precious book. The gratitude they manifested upon the reception of the Bibles was an ample reward for the exposure and labor attendant on furnishing them. Previous to this distribution there was not a single copy of the Bible to be found, as I could learn, among near 400 men in the barracks.

"I lately visited the camp occupied by the Kentucky detachment. General Thomas informed us that, out of about 2000 men belonging to this detachment, there were at the present time 800 on the sick list. The Kentucky troops are not supplied with even a single chaplain, while there are four attached to the troops from the State of Tennessee. I have ascertained that there are three or four houses near the camp (which is three miles below the city), containing sick soldiers, which have as yet received no supply of Bibles.

"March 10th. Today, in company with Mr. Smith, I called at one of the hospitals and made some inquiries respecting the

Bibles which had been left there some time since. There were two rooms containing the sick; only one Bible was remaining in each."

On this mission Mr. Mills was particularly intrusted by the Philadelphia Bible Society with the distribution of a quantity of French Bibles. The manner in which this trust was discharged, and the Testaments received by the Roman Catholics in New Orleans and its vicinity, I shall present by an extract from his report to the Philadelphia Society:

"As has already been stated, I reached New Orleans on the 10th of February. I soon ascertained that the 3000 copies of the Testament directed to the care of the managers of the Louisiana Bible Society had been received. A few copies were given out on the day I arrived in the place. The succeeding day an additional number was distributed.

"The day following, February 12th, the number of the destitute who made application for a supply very much increased. From 9 o'clock a. m. to 1 p. m. the door of the distributor was thronged with from 50 to 100 persons. Those who applied were of all ages and of all colors. They were literally clamorous in their solicitations for the sacred book. For some successive days the applications became still more numerous. In a week after the distribution of the Testaments commenced, 1000 copies were given out. Some of those who requested a supply came prepared to purchase them. They remarked to the distributor that they must have a supply by some means. The principal of the college and a number of the instructors of the public schools in the city presented written statements, containing a list of the schools under their care, who would make a profitable use of the Testaments, could the charity be extended to them. These statements were respectfully addressed to the distributor, with a request that as many of the scholars might be supplied as was consistent with the views of the managers of the Society. Their solicitations were, in most cases, complied with.

"Pere Antonio, a leading character in the Roman Catholic Church in the city, very readily aided in the circulation of the Testaments among his people. Something more than two years ago, the reverend father engaged to assist in the distribution of French Bibles and Testaments. Soon after I arrived in the city, I called upon him, in company with Mr. Hennen. We informed him that the Testaments had been received from the managers of the Philadelphia Bible Society, and presented him with a number of copies. He expressed great satisfaction and repeatedly invoked the blessings of God on the donors. He observed that

God would certainly bless the generous, pious men who had exerted themselves to give to the destitute His Holy Word. He expressed his desire to obtain an additional number of copies and engaged that he would make the most judicious distribution of them in his power. He remarked that he would give them to those persons who would be sure to read them through.

"After our visit to Father Antonio, his attendant called for two or three copies of the Testament. The man who attends at the cathedral was anxious to receive one. His choir of singers likewise requested a supply.

"Soon after the distribution of the Testaments commenced, Mr. Hennen called upon Mgr. DuBourg, the administrator of the bishopric, and informed him that the Testaments, printed by the managers of the Philadelphia Bible Society, had been received and that some copies had been given to the people. The bishop observed that he had been made acquainted with the circumstances by some of his people who had called upon him to ascertain whether he would advise them to receive the Testaments. I had myself an interview with the bishop. During our conversation he expressed to me his regret that the Roman Catholic version of the Testament, printed in Boston in 1810, had not been followed, rather than the version printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. He observed, however, that he should prefer to have the present version of the Testament in the possession of the people rather than have them remain entirely ignorant of the sacred Scriptures.

"As early as the 1st of March, fifteen or sixteen hundred copies of the Testament had been given out. Many of those who applied for them were very earnest in their requests. Some of them said that they came in from the country and could not be denied; and some of them had made repeated applications without success. Some wished the Testaments for themselves, some for a son or a daughter, and some were anxious to obtain a copy for each of their children. It was frequently the case that numbers would remain a considerable time at the door of the distributor, after notice was given that no more Testaments would be given out until the succeeding day. Many applications were made by people of color. We found that a much greater proportion of them, both old and young, could read intelligently than has generally been supposed.

"A little previous to the attack of the English on New Orleans three or four hundred free people of color were organized into companies for the defense of that place. A number of men called for copies of the Testament. One of them wished to know whether the officers of the companies, with whom he was

connected, might be furnished each with a copy. He was answered in the affirmative, and informed that many of the privates could also be supplied. He expressed much surprise, that so many Testaments should be given away. He inquired from whence they came—whether they were the gift of the Legislature of the State, or of the General Government. He was informed that they were sent on by the management of the Bible Society of Philadelphia. The object of the Society was explained to him. The gratuitous distribution of the Scriptures is a thing so novel in this part of our country that it excites much surprise. There is probably a much greater proportion of the French people able to read than has generally been supposed. The 5000 Testaments will furnish but a very partial supply.

“In the Spring of 1811, eight or ten thousand of the inhabitants of St. Domingo came to this part of our country. Most of them remained in New Orleans. Many of them are about to return to St. Domingo, and will take with them the Testaments, where the Sacred Scriptures have rarely, if ever, been introduced. Some copies have been sent to the Havana, in the island of Cuba.”

On April 6th, 1815, Dr. Mills and Dr. Smith made a report to the Massachusetts Bible Society entitled: “View of Louisiana” and while some parts of this have already been quoted, it is worth repeating in full:

“The State of Louisiana, having lately become an integral part of the Union, deserves the attention of the public. It has imperious claim on the attention particularly of the religious public. The finger of Providence seems to be pointing this way. Recent events in this quarter at once arrest our attention and elevate our hopes. We refer to the late wonderful deliverance of this country from an invading foe; and to the subsequent distribution of a number of English Bibles and French Testaments. Perhaps there was, in the wisdom of divine Providence, a more intimate connection between these events than is obvious to the world. Even the most heedless and stupid of the inhabitants can not but recognize the hand of God in the salvation of their country. And perhaps they were thereby rendered more willing to give a favorable reception to the word of that God who had so lately appeared for them in an hour of peril and distress.

“In 1810 Louisiana contained 76,556 inhabitants, 34,660 of whom were slaves. Since that time its population is doubtless considerably increased; but to what extent, we are not able to say. The principal settlements, out of New Orleans, are the following: Those on the Mississippi, extending thirty miles below New Orleans, and above the northernmost boundary of the state, are almost wholly occupied by Frenchmen, Acadians and Germans.

who speak the French language. The settlements in the counties of Attakapas and Opelousas are very considerable and have a mixture of French and American inhabitants. Those on the Red River are chiefly inhabited by Americans. There are in this State two Methodist circuits, but there is no Baptist preacher, as we could ascertain, and, out of New Orleans, no Presbyterian minister. A very large portion of the State has never, as we could learn, been visited by a Presbyterian preacher. Many of the American inhabitants were originally Presbyterians, and very many would rejoice to see a respectable missionary among them. It is therefore of immense importance that some one should be sent to explore the country and learn its moral and religious state, and introduce, as far as possible, the institutions of the gospel. Such a man might not only be useful to the Americans; he might exert a very salutary influence on the French also. He would doubtless promote the farther distribution of the French Scriptures. Religious tracts, in that language, might be very soon circulated among the people. And a prudent and diligent use of such means, we have reason to hope, would result in the happiest consequences.

"In West Florida the attention of some of the inhabitants was not long since called to the subject of religion. Many of them solicit for Bibles, whenever there is a prospect that they can be supplied, which is very rare. There are some American families in this part of our country *who never saw a Bible, nor heard of Jesus Christ*. There are some hopefully pious persons who cannot obtain a Bible or Testament. These facts were given us by a religious teacher who had been among the people of whom he spoke.

"New Orleans would no doubt be the principal station of a missionary sent into this State. It therefore deserves a description. When the census was taken it contained 24,552 inhabitants. At present it contains probably 30,000, as many as 12,000 of whom are blacks. And whether we consider its population, or its commerce, it ranks among the most important cities in the Union. More than half the white inhabitants are Frenchmen; the remainder are Americans, from almost all the States, and a few foreigners. Until lately the Catholic religion prevailed to the exclusion of every other. But for some years past the city has been occasionally visited by Protestant preachers of different denominations. Mr. Chase of the Episcopal church was in the city three or four years, and established an Episcopal congregation. Mr. Hull, originally from Scotland, supplies this congregation at the present time. The only Protestant place of worship in the city [at this point there is a note reading as follows: New Orleans, Aug. 1.—On Thursday last, the 27th ult., the cornerstone

of a Protestant church was laid in this city. We hope that piety and morals will flourish under the benign influence of the Great Author of all good; that the people will acknowledge the great and important truth, that 'It is righteousness alone that exalteth a nation.'] it is in the upper room in a building erected and owned by Mr. Paulding, a pious Baptist. This gentleman has devoted this room to the interests of evangelical religion. The state of public morals is extremely deplorable. Sabbath-breaking, profanity and intemperance prevail to a fearful extent. Yet there are in the city many respectable families, who are the friends of good order and morality. And there are some pious persons who sigh daily for the abominations committed there. All these would hold up the hands of a faithful minister, as Aaron and Hur did the hands of Moses; and it may be that the hosts of Israel, though few and scattered, through the blessing of God, would prevail.

"The Louisiana Bible Society was established at New Orleans more than two years since, when Revs. Schermerhorn and Mills visited this city. Already has this Society, although its internal resources have been small, done much to promote the interests of religion in this State. It has aided in distributing 300 English Bibles, the donation of the New York and Massachusetts Bible Societies, and it has given out near 3,000 French New Testaments. But still this Society needs the fostering care and the active services of some missionary man. It is a fact that ought not to be forgotten that so lately as last March a Bible in any language could not be found, for sale or to be given away, in New Orleans. And yet eight thousand Bibles would not supply the destitute in this State.

"Our appeal is to the Christian public. What shall be done? Shall we leave one of our fairest cities to be completely overwhelmed with vice and folly? The dreaded inundation of the Mississippi would not be half so ruinous. Now by divine assistance, an effectual barrier may be opposed to the flood of iniquity. And is the liberality of the Christian community exhausted? Have you no Bibles to give; no missionaries to send? Are there no men of apostolic spirit, who desire not 'another man's line of things made ready to their hands'? Then is the case of this city wretched and hopeless indeed. But surely the cry of some of its citizens must be heard. It is earnest and importunate. It is continually sounding in our ears. Send us some one to break to us the bread of life."

On April 18th, 1815, Mr. Mills made a third report regarding the distribution of French Testaments in Louisiana, but same was made up principally from his journal which I have quoted in full above; this report concludes as follows:

"On the first of April, in company with a friend, I set out upon a visit to the Attakapas country. We proceeded up the east bank of the Mississippi about eighty miles; then crossed the river and went in a westerly and southwesterly direction, between fifty and sixty miles into the country. We often called at the houses by the way, distributed a number of Testaments in different parts of the country, and informed the people that a quantity had been sent on for gratuitous distribution by the Philadelphia Bible Society, and where they might apply to obtain them.

"Have we not reason to hope that in this region and shadow of death the true light is beginning to shine? May it shine more and more until the perfect day.

"From the preceding account you will perceive that we have reason to believe the circulation of the Bibles among the suffering soldiers was blessed to the spiritual benefit of many. We sincerely regret that there was not a greater quantity of Bibles at the disposal of the managers of the Bible Society. When the militia of this State were discharged, many of them called for Bibles to carry home with them. They came eight or ten in a company. These poor men, who had been jeopardizing their lives on the high places of the field in the defense of their country, whose health, in many instances, had been destroyed by the fatigues they endured—and some of whom were doubtless destined to fall by the way on their return to their homes—requested that they might be furnished with Bibles. We informed them that not a copy could be obtained. The deep regret which they manifested on receiving this information convinced us that they were sincere, well-meaning petitioners, and excited in our breasts emotions not to be described. But with aching heart we sent them empty away, as we had done many of their followers who had previously applied.

"We earnestly hope that some more efficient means will be soon entered upon which will meet the necessities of the destitute poor in this part of our country."

The fourth and last report of Doctor Mills regarding Louisiana was dated June 1st, 1815, and was in reference to the distribution of Spanish Testaments and a few extracts therefrom may not be out of place:

"During our stay in New Orleans, and while the French Testaments were circulating among the people, inquiries were frequently made for the Spanish Testament or Bible. It was the opinion of a number of gentlemen of information that some hundreds of copies of the Testament might be readily distributed among the Spaniards, with a prospect that they would be gratefully received, and extensively useful. There are some extensive

Spanish settlements in different parts of the State, but we have not been able to make out any satisfactory estimate of the number of Spanish inhabitants. There are many families on the Bayou La Fourche. Natchitoches, on the Red River, is partly settled by them, and there are a number of families in the vicinity of that place. We were informed that some hundreds of copies might probably be sent into New Spain, by the way of Natchitoches. Within the limits of Louisiana five hundred copies of the Spanish Testament might probably be very soon distributed, and in a very satisfactory manner. Father Antonio de Sedilla (referred to in the preceding communication) expressed his readiness to aid in the distribution of the Spanish Testament, within the limits of the State, should any number of copies be committed to his care for the purpose. He engaged likewise, should he be furnished with any considerable quantity, that he would send some to Havana and some to Campeachy.

"The Rev. Father has it in his power, no doubt, to aid the circulation of the Scriptures in these places and in other portions of Spanish America. The inhabitants of Cuba and of Campeachy have generally been esteemed very bigoted. If therefore the Testaments were permitted to circulate freely in these places it is most likely that there should be no portion of the West Indies, or of Spanish country in North or South America, where the distribution of them would be forbidden. It is well known that many provinces, formerly subject to the Spanish government, are at the present time in possession of the revolutionists. The present is certainly a very favorable opportunity for sending the gospels to the places already named. Father Antonio informed us that very many of the Spaniards could read. He said that they were required by the priests to read certain books made use of in their church, but that they were not supplied with the sacred Scriptures, of either the Old or New Testament.

"As this paper presents to you the facilities for circulating the Spanish Testament not only within the limits of Louisiana, but also among the inhabitants of Cuba, New Spain and Campeachy, and of the adjacent countries, we should recommend that 1,000 copies at least should be procured as speedily as possible and directed to the care of the managers of the Louisiana Bible Society, either for gratuitous distribution, or in part for sale, as you shall think proper."

I have prepared this paper by quoting from two books kindly loaned me by Mr. T. P. Thompson, one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society; they are: "The Report of a Missionary Tour through that part of the United States which lies west of the Alleghany Mountains; performed under the direction of the Mas-

sachusetts Missionary Society, by Samuel J. Mills and Daniel Smith," printed by Flag and Gould at Andover in 1815, and "Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills, late Missionary to the South Western Section of the United States, and Agent of the American Colonization Society, deputed to explore the Coast of Africa," published in New York in 1820, and have given, with the exception of a very few introductory and explanatory words, the exact text from the books.

MEETING OF OCTOBER, 1916.

The regular monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society took place on Wednesday evening, October 18, at the Cabildo.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Hart presented the following candidates for membership:

Mrs. E. H. Clogston, Prof. Milledge L. Bonham, Mr. Charles H. Behre, Mr. W. S. Smith; all were elected.

Mr. Cusachs read a letter from the chairman of the editorial department of the National Farm and Live Stock Fair asking the cooperation of the Society in the educational day program, which included a historical pageant. Mr. W. O. Hart read a similar letter from one of the committee. No action was taken beyond the recommendation of the President that the members of the Society would respond to the appeal and do what they could to make the day a success.

The attention of the Society was then called to its regular program, which consisted of an unusually interesting collection of unpublished historic documents collected by the President and read by him and the Secretary as follows:

A representation upon the limits of Louisiana made to His Excellency the Duke of Alcudia by His Excellency Brigadier General Estevan Miro, dated 1793, containing much valuable authentic information concerning the discussion between the United States and Spain concerning the disputed points of the Navigation of the Mississippi River and the boundaries of the respective possessions of the English and French and the conflicting claims of the original Indian possessors of the Louisiana territory.

This was followed by a most interesting letter read by the Secretary and written by a British officer from H. M. Ship *Alceste*, off Cat Island, dated January 28, 1815, giving a personal account of the various engagements between the British and Americans before the Battle of New Orleans, and a description of the battle itself, showing the causes that led to the defeat of the British from the British point of view.

Mr. Cusachs then read a translation of the testimonial sent to General Wilkinson after his trial and vindication of participation in the Burr conspiracy signed by the Mayor of New Orleans and city officials; and also a letter from Governor Claiborne addressed to General Wilkinson, dated December 12, 1806, advising with him as to measures to be taken by the general government in what he calls "an extensive combination with designs most hostile" to the safety of the territory.

Mr. Hart, in answer to a question raised about Thomas Jefferson, gave a very succinct and pleasant account of the procedure by which the first Presidents of the United States were elected.

The Society then adjourned to meet in November.

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON.

New Orleans, Decr. 12, 1806.

Dear Sir:

Devise the means to enable Captain Shaw to obtain sailors and as far as my powers permit, they shall be resorted to. I learn from some of the merchants that the *term of service* is the greatest obstacle,—it is proposed to enlist the sailors for six months,—this length of time is objected to. Do you not think, General, that two months, unless sooner discharged, would answer our objects?

I am sorry you should think me wanting in decision. To assist Captain Shaw in obtaining men I have authorized an embargo, an act of authority which can alone be exercised, legally, by the General Government, and this act of mine I fear the Collector will not long submit to, lest by withholding clearances he may subject himself to personal actions.

In the last resource we should indeed pursue any means for the public safety, but I submit it to your cool reflection whether, *at this time* I could be justified in directing an impressment, and compelling men, perforce, to enter the service?

I am sincerely desirous to cooperate with you in all your measures. Many well disposed citizens do not appear to think the danger considerable, and there are others who (perhaps from wicked intentions) endeavor to turn our preparations into ridicule; but these things have no effect on my mind. That an extensive combination, with designs the most hostile, exists, I have no doubt—and it is our sacred duty to be on the alert and be prepared to meet danger. With respect to the force under your command, I am persuaded you will make such disposition of it as will effect your primary object, the safety of the Territory.

I have seen Mr. Cox and will give you the particulars of our conversation on tomorrow.

I am, Dear Sir, yours with respect,

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE.

The mails had gone before your last note reached me.

Genl. Wilkinson.

Unpublished Letter Relative to the Battle of New Orleans.

[The following letter, written by a British officer in 1815, was given by the daughter of the writer, Miss Forbes of Santa Cruz, Cal., to Dr. Jerome B. Thomas of Palo Alto, who, in turn, gave it to Professor Ephraim D. Adams of the Leland Stanford Jr. University, by whom a copy was kindly given to the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge, with permission to publish.] Presented by Prof. Milledge L. Bonham.

On Board H. M. S. *Alceste*,

Off Cat Island, 28th Jan. 1815.

James Cobb, Esq.,

Sec. East India Company,

London, England.

My Dear Sir:

The *Plantagenet*-74 leaves us in the course of the day with Gen. Lambert and Sir Alex Cochrane's dispatches for England and I feel particularly happy in the opportunity by her to be able to state to you certain circumstances regarding our expedition that you are not likely to become acquainted with through

any public source of information. It is only since I've landed in the neighborhood of New Orleans that we were undeceived as to the reception the Army was likely to meet with from the settlers of Louisiana and the Floridas in the event of our attacking them. It was the received opinion founded certainly upon hints given to Military officers high in rank by Sir Alex before we quitted Jamaica and upon our arrival on the American Continent that the vexatious taxes imposed upon them by the American Government had so disgusted the people at large as to leave no doubt of our being received with open arms. A representation to this effect must have gone home and can be the only means of accounting for the reason why the Ministry did not send out a force with us adequate to the enterprise we were sent on. The issue has proved that the Admiral's information was fallacious and the returns of our killed and wounded will convince the world that the opposition we have met with was owing to the unanimity of every class of men. In fact not a white man of even the lowest description has joined us since we landed, nor have our generals or the Admiral succeeded in obtaining information of the most trivial nature. We quitted Plymouth with barely 2000 men under Major-General Keane. Off the western point of Jamaica we were reinforced by the remains of General Ross's army from the Chesapeake, and two black regiments. The entire number of our force even by this addition did not exceed 4500 bayonets; of this only 1600 men could be put on shore at once, owing to the want of boats in the fleet and the distance the troops were to be conveyed from Cat Island to within eight miles of New Orleans, about a hundred miles. We made our landing good with that number of men on the 23rd ultimo but with great difficulty, owing to the shallowness of the water and other impediments, and took up a position on the banks of the Mississippi without hearing of an enemy being (sic) in our neighborhood. We found the plantations deserted and learned from the slaves that their masters had joined the militia corps. No sooner, however, had daylight quitted us than we were suddenly surprised by a tremendous fire of grape and round shot from a 12 gun schooner that had dropped down unperceived by any person of the army from New Orleans just opposite our position, but within grape range. After suffering considerable loss, General Keane

succeeded in getting the troops placed under the embankment of the river so that shot could occasion us little further injury. The vessel's fire was from thence returned by volleys of musketry all along our line. A quarter of an hour could scarcely have elapsed when we found ourselves assailed in the rear or on the flanks by about 7000 men under General Jackson so that it became necessary once more to subject ourselves once more (sic) to the fire of the schooner so as to meet Jackson in the field. Notwithstanding their vast superiority both in numbers and mode of attack, from our entire ignorance of the enemy's movements or even a knowledge that any force beyond the militia of the immediate neighborhood existed, we resisted them in the first instance and fortunately succeeded in dispersing them but not without a loss of 300 men. Jackson on this night gained sufficient experience to suffer us to be the assailants on all future occasions and allowed us to disembark our whole force without further molestation. Sir Edward Pakenham, to be our Commander-in-Chief, and General Gibbs, second in command, had an opportunity of joining before anything further was attempted and on the following morning the schooner was set fire to by redhot shot from two guns we had landed. A reinforcement of the 7th and 43rd regiments joined us about the same time from England. The general expectation was that the period was at hand when we were to be relieved from our unpleasant situation and get into town. We drove in the enemy's pickets with this impression and expected to annihilate Jackson's force in an instant, but to our great mortification we found after pushing on about three miles that his army had entrenched itself in a strong position with its rights on the river and its left resting on a swampy wood which we afterward discovered to be impenetrable, with redoubts in front mounting fifteen pieces of cannon. A twenty-gun ship had moved down and was anchored in such a situation as to fire down our line in case [of] our attempting an assault. Not one of these obstacles had been foreseen and our troops rushed on headlong till brought up by the ditch in front of the American line. They were of a nature not to be surmounted and we were constrained to fall back without reach from shot from their lines and ship, with loss. Sir Edward then determined upon cannonading the enemy so as to oblige him to quit his strong ground or by making

breeches, force his way through them, to effect which thirty pieces of ordnance of all descriptions were got ashore and placed in batteries on New Year's Eve. New Year's Day afforded us a sight of fire works, pop guns, mortars and rockets such as has been seldom witnessed even in Lord Wellington's great actions in the Peninsula. However, this attempt was unsuccessful and we sustained a further loss of nearly a hundred men. The last resource was now to storm the lines and the day was fixed for the 8th instant. It was so arranged that a party should cross the river in boats. We were enabled to get into it by a canal we had been employed the previous days in cutting from our previous landing place, which was to take their enfilading batteries on the opposite side in reverse to prevent our suffering from them as we advanced to the storm. The party succeeded with a trifling loss in taking all the cannon mounted there, eighteen in number. The principal attack upon the lines failed notwithstanding the success upon the opposite side and the public papers will sufficiently explain to you the loss the army has met with in the loss of Generals Pakenham and Gibbs and the number of regimental officers and about 2000 men. In fact it had the effect to depress the spirits of the Army so far that General Lambert, our present General-in-Chief, immediately after the action determined upon a re-embarkation and began to put our wounded on board the same day and successively shipped off our stores, men and guns, with the exception of our heavy ship guns we were obliged to destroy, until this day when the last of the troops were got off.

To mention individual suffering is perhaps ridiculous, but until this day since the 15th of last month, when I left the ship I have not had the comfort of a change of linen or any other than a blanket and great coat could afford me either in boats night and day exposed alternately to rain and frost or huddled on shore on swampy ground, so that you can easily figure to yourself the change to the captain's cabin of a fine frigate sitting before a large fire that I am enjoying on this present writing. Not only our prospects of prize money have vanished but promotion also which I fully expected would have followed success. No plans for the future operations of the army have yet been suggested. It is generally supposed we shall attack Mobile, but I differ from others in this particular. I do not conceive it to be of sufficient

importance but rather conclude we shall sail away for New Providence or Bermuda and remain in either of those islands until reinforcements can reach us from England and general officers to command with fresh instructions on which point I shall not fail to write you when they are determined on. I have omitted to inform you the enemy had unknown to the Admiral five gunboats of a superior class on the lakes which were discovered by accident by Captain Gordon of the *Seahorse* most fortunately for the army as they would have destroyed the troops in the boats as they were conveying through the lakes; these were captured by the boats of the Squadron.

With kind regards to my Aunt and Cousins,

Yours affectionately,

(Signed)

C. J. FORBES.

**Representation Upon the Limits of Louisiana Made to
His Excellency the Duke of Alcudia by His Ex-
cellency Brigadier General Estevan Miro.**

Aranjuez, March 18, 1793.

Most Excellent Sir: The desires which assist me of being useful to his Majesty's service compel me to intrude upon your Excellency's attention and if I have not done so up to the present moment it is because I did not dare to interrupt your Excellency in the consideration of the important affairs which surround your Excellency since he has taken up the duties of the Minister of State; but a new Envoy from the U. S. having arrived, who will undoubtedly take advantage of the present critical circumstances to present his pretensions to the navigation of the Mississippi River and to the boundaries which Great Britain unduly fixed induce me to manifest to your Excellency certain circumstances that may facilitate the settlement of one and the other point; to that end I will explain the position of the settlements of the U. S. that are a menace to Louisiana, the means of conserving peace with them, and the measures which I judge necessary to adopt in order to safeguard ourselves from their insults without taxing the Royal Treasury, discussing at the same time the settlement of the boundaries in accordance with the knowledge that I have acquired during my fourteen years of service in the said Province, of which I was Governor.

Referring to the situation of Louisiana with regard to the U. S. and the means of developing and conserving peace by granting them the navigation of the Mississippi, it is necessary to explain the circumstances which will facilitate the settlement of the boundary question. The just means and the mutual rights which will dissipate all cause of dispute are as follows:

The Indian nations who live in the Territory comprised between the mouth of the Mississippi and the sea and also between the two mentioned powers, have never been conquered nor reduced in any way. The English and French who possessed the territory now belonging to his Majesty bought it from the Indians and fixed the boundaries with these. Which boundaries are defined and well known, therefore let the U. S. do the same on its side, and with regard to this they have nothing to discuss with us, and anything which deviates from these principals will be declared null and void by the said Indian nation and will be the cause of war against any one who opposes them, as has occurred up to now between the Cherokees, Creeks or Talaposas and the United States.

The first desire the boundaries to be fixed by the Cumberland River, the latter by the Ocony and for this they have constantly fought until 1795 in which year the half-breed Alexander McGillebray with several of the chiefs of the Creek nation was called to New York by President Washington and a treaty of peace was agreed to, which has not yet been confirmed by all the nation because McGillebray ceded more lands than the said nation cared to grant.

The United States therefore recognizes as a result that this point must be settled with the aforesaid Indian nations in order to be able to possess and use the territory, which the Cherokees and Creeks have granted them in that part of the world. Spain will do the same with the Creeks in Eastern and Western Florida, and with the Chicksaws, Choctaws and Alabamas in Mobile and Louisiana. Between the Cherokees and Creeks the last mentioned Indians have their lands.

The line which the above mentioned Indians, who live on the borders of the U. S. wish to establish is as follows:

It begins at the mouth of the Ohio on the Mississippi, goes up the above River until the mouth of the Cumberland, continues

up this River to its principal tributary, that is to say, up to its most navigable tributary, from there a straight line should be drawn reaching to the source of the northernmost tributary of the Ocony or Altamaha, it should go down this river as far as Fort Bannington, thence to the St. Mary's River which empties into the sea.

If the U. S. absolutely wishes to fix the boundaries with Spain without regard to the Indian possessions and that his Majesty should be willing to do so, it would be unjust to cede anything of the line drawn between the English and the Chickasaws and Choctaws from the territory of Mobile to the Mississippi.

This line begins on the western bank of the river which empties into the Bay of Mobile, called the Tombehe, at a point 45 leagues away from that city and known as the beginning of the divisionary line between the English and the Indians, and named Chatecpe line, from this point both parties accompanied by various Indian chiefs marked the line up to a place called by these "The ball game" to which place they arrived by following the direction of the wind. But they refused to mark the line further unless the English agreed to form an angle which would leave in the possession of the Indians all the above territory; this was agreed to and thus they pushed back the possessions of the Europeans toward the Mississippi, terminating the line on the Yazoo River five leagues from its mouth.

The boundaries of Mobile with the territories of the Alabamas who inhabit the eastern shore of the river of the same name and on the Tinsar, both of which rivers form a junction and empty themselves into Mobile Bay are known by the name of Scambi River, which Rivers flows into the Alabama twenty-five leagues from Mobile Fort. As the Creeks, the most considerable of all these nations, live to the east of the Alabamas on the borders of the United States and the Floridas, I believe that the natural line between these and Pensacola and St. Augustine should run from the mouth of the above mentioned Scambi River where it empties into the Alabama and running east by west should reach out to the St. Mary River.

I can not assure that the line is thus drawn for the boundaries are only known by us to the Scambia River which only discharges a small quantity of water nor did I know if in the region of St.

Augustine the English fixed their boundaries with the Creeks; however it is certain that the line could not deviate very much from the one proposed above. Although in the treaty of peace between England and the United States the limits unduly designated on the Mississippi and in the Floridas are clearly mentioned, I think it necessary to explain here circumstances surrounding them.

The line which crosses the Mississippi in its center up to the 35th degree passes in front of the Red River which empties into the Mississippi twelve leagues below the Fort of Natchez in its eastern part and by drawing the said line from this point east by west as far as the St. Mary's River the district of Natchez would become the property of the United States and this is the richest and most populous of all Louisiana and in Mobile would leave us a sandy waste within the fort scarcely two leagues in extent and behind Pensacola only a lot of untillable land.

The Commissioners sent by Georgia, the southernmost state of the United States, in the year 1785 understood this to be the case and having brought with them a number of Militia officers and justices of the peace selected among the inhabitants of Natchez, made bold enough to take me to task for the erection of fortifications on the territory of their state, at the time when I was finishing a moat around the said Fort; for this reason I expelled them from that district, reporting immediately and extensively upon this act to the Marquis of Sonora in Despatch No. 117 dated 17th December 1785 and his Majesty deigned to approve this measure in Royal Order of April 24th 1786.

Nevertheless on account of the purchase which various persons incorporated under the name of the South Carolina Co. in the Yazoo tried to make from the state of Georgia three years ago, the territory which they attempted to purchase was marked as bordering upon that of Spain in a place called Cole's Creek which empties into the Mississippi six or seven leagues further up than the Fort of Natchez and therefore removed 18 or 19 degrees of the 32 degrees above mentioned and they no doubt contented themselves with these limits because the referred to treaty expressly states that the boundary line of the United States shall follow the Mississippi until the northernmost part of the 35th; that is to say as far as a point immediately next to the 32nd degree where is to be found the above mentioned tributary.

These boundaries result from the fact that in former days they were marked on the maps as running from Georgia west by east until they reached the Mississippi, but upon the representations of the inhabitants of Natchez who when they wanted to appeal to higher courts in their legal contentions had to do so in Georgia, His Britanic Majesty declared the said district as forming part of Western Florida and under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Pensacola. The line above described was established as far as the Yazoo, and this Province having been ceded by a right of conquest to His Majesty by Great Britain in the last treaty of peace it is not just that the United States should claim up to the 31st degree even though the same power should have so declared, and this declaration may emanate from an error, for otherwise it would have been necessary to declare His Majesty should deliver to the U. S. the said district of Natchez which he then possessed. The above declaration of his British Majesty in regard to West Florida are only known by public rumor and I have heard it from many Englishmen who were present in Pensacola when it was published. His Majesty's possessions having therefore been established as comprising only the limits above expressed, nothing is claimed in the region of Louisiana in reference to the eastern shore of the Mississippi except the territory as far up as the mouth of the Yazoo and it must be said besides that the United States can not claim as theirs the Indians nations of Chickasaws, Choctaws, Chicachez, Alabamas and Creeks because these (besides always having received presents and protection from Great Britain in the Floridas) renewed a certain dependence on account of the protection that was granted to them in the Congress which I celebrated in Pensacola with the Creeks during the month of May and in Mobile with the other tribes mentioned during the month of June, a treaty of 13 articles having been signed to that effect which I reported to my Captain General the Count of Galvez, and in answer to an inquiry of the Marquis of Sonora I enclosed him a copy of my despatch No. 89 under date of July 2nd 1785.

The above mentioned states will reply that they themselves have made treaties with the Chicahas and Choctaws in Hopewell and Seneca in the year 1786, but these treaties are imaginary and null and void. On the part of the Chicahas only one Indian of

importance with a few warriors went to Hopewell and to Seneca a few Choctaws chiefs who had not yet delivered to me the English medal and both these parties without being authorized by their respective nations, as was afterwards declared by those Choctaws who subsequently came to deliver the referred to medals and also by the king of Chicahas together with his principal chiefs who disapproved of this action as is recorded extensively in Document No. 3 and the other papers enclosed in my despatch No. 24 to His Excellency Don Antonio Valdez under date of August 28th 1788.

It is a great advantage that the above mentioned Indians should remain under the protection of His Majesty so that they might serve as a barrier against the United States and on this account I do not doubt that these (United States) will vigorously oppose themselves to this policy as they always have done, for almost every year they send Commissioners to the Indians to separate them from their agreement, though so far they have been unable to carry their point nor maintain to their party but one Chicaha chief with his village, all the others having resisted to the letters written by the Secretary of War Knox, Dr. Franklin, and even those of General Washington himself, the originals of which they brought to me as proof of their fidelity and it does not appear possible that the United States will carry their contention so far as to employ force with the Indians, for it would be manifestly unjust to prevent them from selecting their own protection.

It will be a source of great satisfaction to me if the foregoing will help your Excellency to propose to His Majesty a satisfactory manner of adjusting the differences pending with the United States and to develop Louisiana in a manner that will enable it to defend itself without assistance.

I also offer myself with the best of good will so that your Excellency may employ me in the manner most useful to the service of His Majesty.

I pray God that he may keep your Excellency's life many years.

Exmo. Sr. Estevan Miro.

Aranjuez 18 de Marzo 1793.

Exmo. Sr. Duque de Alcudia.

MEETING OF NOVEMBER, 1916.

The regular monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society was held on Wednesday evening, November 15, at the Cabildo. The President opened the meeting. The minutes of the last meeting were read by the Secretary and approved.

Mr. W. O. Hart presented two names for membership: Joseph C. Behre, and John L. Henning of Sulphur, La. They were elected.

The following resolution was presented by Mr. Hart:

"Resolved, That Section 2 of Article 2 of the Constitution of the Society be amended to read as follows:

"The regular monthly meeting of the Society shall be held each month unless otherwise determined by the Executive Committee, on the third Tuesday thereof, at eight o'clock p. m., in the rooms of the Society at the Cabildo.

"The annual meeting shall be held in January, when the officers of the Society shall be elected for the ensuing year."

As according to the by-laws of the Society no action could be taken in regard to the amendment of the Constitution; it was laid over.

Miss King introduced a resolution concerning the publication of a quarterly review, decided upon in executive meeting. She proposed the creation of a publication committee to undertake it. Passed as amended by Mr. Hart to refer it to the decision of the Executive Committee at its next meeting.

Mr. Henry Gill presented a handsome collection of scrap-books from Mrs. Rochester, compiled by Mr. G. J. J. Rochester, a late member of the Society. He also presented to the Society a collection of water-color sketches of old New Orleans from Dr. H. B. Seebold.

Mr. Hart presented an interesting literary record, a chap book published in New Orleans in 1896.

A vote of thanks to both donors was passed.

The paper of the evening was given by Miss Grace King. It gave an account of the events that led to the baptism of Prince Iturbide in the New Orleans Cathedral in 1824, which comprised also a pleasant retrospect of the Zacharie family, noted in financial and social chronicles of New Orleans since 1800. The connection of our local traditions with those of Mexico was made

the subject of the short talk that followed. Miss Zacharie, being present, was asked for some further information about the Memorial medals presented to her father by the ex-Empress of Mexico. She said that she had presented the one that remained in her possession to the State Museum, where it can be seen by all.

THE YTURBIDE OF NEW ORLEANS.

By GRACE KING.

There has been extracted recently from that old agglomeration of vital documents, the Cathedral records, the following scrap of history that, as scraps do, has evoked the memory of other scraps which it may please the Historical Society to see pieced together. The record reads:

"Baptized by the Bishop, 24th of December, 1824, Augustin Come Damien Yturbide; born 14th of this same month from the legitimate marriage of the late Don Augustin Come Damien Yturbide, ex-Emperor of Mexico, and Dame Anne Marie Huart. God-father, Jacques Waters Zacharie; god-mother, Henriette Zacharie. (Signed) L. Guil, Bishop of New Orleans; (Signed) Fr. Antonio de Sedella."

The baptismal entry is recorded in the index as Yturbide, Prince of Mexico.

The ten-day-old infant thus admitted as "Prince of Mexico" into the membership of the great Catholic kingdom had already suffered the sorrow of the commonest son of humanity. His father, Don Augustin Come Damien Yturbide, ex-Emperor of Mexico, had been expedited to a still greater kingdom on the 24th of July, 1824, when he incurred the penalty of death, inflicted for attempting to enter Mexico after the ban of outlawry had been pronounced against him by the Mexican government. He was shot on the 24th of July in the State of Tamaulipas.

He belonged to what we might call the great days of Mexican revolutions—the days of Hidalgo and Morelos, who, it should never be forgotten, called at Chimalzinco, in 1813, the National Assembly that first proclaimed Mexican independence. But, as usual in Mexico, a guerrilla warfare kept up military agitation and fomented troubles that culminated in a revolution in 1820. Yturbide, then serving in the royal army as colonel,

crushed the disturbance and, hailed as liberator, again proclaimed the independence of Mexico, which was recognized by Spain and established for a brief period in 1821; but, unfortunately for Mexico, Yturvide was no Washington, and he soon changed his title of liberator to that of "hereditary constitutional emperor," and was thus proclaimed by his army and the Mexican populace. Simultaneously, however, the republican standard of revolt was raised by Santa Anna and a provisional government triumphed over the imperial, and Yturvide, forced to abdicate, was exiled. He withdrew to London but, returning, he cast his life upon the chance and, landing in Mexico, was arrested, tried and summarily shot. He is described in historical accounts as a man of handsome figure and ingratiating manners, whose splendid courage and brilliant military talents made him the idol of his soldiers, but there are also credited against him grave charges of extortion, violence and excessive cruelty. Though amiable in private life, he was ambitious and unscrupulous in his public career, and to his haughty Spanish temper, impatient of resistance or control, is ascribed in part his failure to found a secure imperial dynasty. Of good old Spanish blood, he had selected for wife a woman whom, we are told, was well worthy the destiny he planned for her: the Dame Marie Huart, a Creole of Mexico but also of fine Spanish family, a woman of great beauty, courage and dignity, who survived him. And now to turn to the god-father and god-mother of the little prince.

Jacques Waters Zacharie and Henriette Zacharie were the children of Marie Etienne Zacharie, a Frenchman, and of Henriette Waters, an English woman. They came to America after the War of Independence and settled in Baltimore, where Etienne Zacharie engaged in commerce which, following the custom of the day, he transported in his own ships. Having lost some of these in the first maritime clashes that followed the breaking off of relations between France and the United States in 1798, and being threatened thereby with financial ruin, Zacharie bethought him of his friends in his old country and he went to France and, landing at Bordeaux, prepared to go to Paris to call upon Tallerand for assistance in prosecuting a claim for indemnity; but meeting an older friend, Barbe Marbois, in

Bordeaux, he went no further (this was in the beginning of 1800), as Marbois convinced him that nothing could be done toward getting his claim recognized; but, desirous of assisting his old schoolmate, confided to him the greatest state secret of the time—that France was negotiating for the sale of Louisiana to the United States. He advised Zacharie to waste no more time over past losses but return at once to America and settle in New Orleans, which, he assured him, was to become the richest field in America for future commercial enterprise. Zacharie took his friend's advice. He came to New Orleans at once and was thus on hand when the era of prosperity dawned, and profited by the tide of fortune that began to course through the new American metropolis. Our local records bear the fact that he founded the first bank in the city, the Banque de la Louisiane (in 1804), of which, however, he made Julien Poydras president, he preferring, for himself the humble but important position of cashier. The new opportunities were all that his financial gifts required for the making of a great and sure fortune and of establishing his large family in the proud and secure social and financial position which they maintained in New Orleans for two generations.

Jacques Waters, his son, or, as we know him, James W. Zacharie, was born in Baltimore and came to New Orleans with his family in 1800. To continue his education here he was put as a student in the old College of Orleans which, as we may say, held at the time all the future citizens of any worth to the city. Zacharie was one of the boys of the college who volunteered for service in the preparations made to resist the invasion of the city in 1814. He was assigned to a post on the lake shore, where he met with an accident that wounded his hand and lamed it for the rest of his life.

Possessing the same shrewd business capacity of his father and the same genius for profiting by opportunity, he soon became known for vaster and more original plans and, in truth, when still a young man, attained to a position in Louisiana and in the United States that was unique at that time and would be more so now. He gathered, in short, into his own management what it is no exaggeration to qualify as the entire business

of Mexico, Central and South America: the fruit trade, lumber trade, minerals, in short all the exports of these countries which vast trusts in our day have been organized to handle, loading them upon his own ships and from New Orleans distributing them throughout the United States and in Europe. And this, as has never been contested, simply by the exercise of his keen business enterprise, backed by a reputation for flawless integrity and irreproachable honor. In virtue of these qualities he was recognized for years as the official trustee of all Mexican and South American interests and the charge d'affaires of their financial relations.

Through the network of his correspondents in Mexico he naturally followed the course of its many revolutions and, after the execution of Yturbide, became acquainted with the tragic situation of his widow. With the characteristic generosity that we learned in after years to know so well, he instructed his agent to provide Madame Yturbide with the means to travel to New Orleans, and she sailed on one of his ships then in port. As, when it arrived in New Orleans, yellow fever was prevalent in the City, Mr. Zacharie, who had gone to the levee to receive his guests, directed the captain to take his vessel up the river to the Zacharie plantation of White Castle, in the Parish of Iberville. There the party landed and there they remained for some months. Theodore, the brother of James Zacharie, was the manager of the plantation, and his sister, Henriette, kept his house for him. Madame Yturbide, according to the Zacharie family tradition, was accompanied by several children, of whom only two sons and one daughter, Josephine, are distinctly remembered; also by a numerous retinue, including a lady in waiting, a chaplain, a physician and a large number of domestic servants. A child was born in New Orleans and, in due course of time, as we have seen, was christened in the Cathedral with all ceremony and pomp. No more is remembered here about the family except that they afterward removed to Philadelphia. At that time New Orleans was the favorite place of refuge for the revolution-stricken people to the south of us.

Madame Yturbide maintained her semi-regal state in Philadelphia. She always received visitors in a long room, seated at the end on a chair of state and never rising to any one. Mr.

Zacharie once took his eldest daughter when a young girl to call upon her. She described the visit to her family: how she and her father were received by a handsome, middle-aged lady seated in a chair of state, but when she saw Mr. Zacharie she arose and hastened forward to meet him with both hands extended, calling him her best friend. A long and pleasant conversation ensued; at the end, when Mr. Zacharie took his leave, she begged him to accept a souvenir from her and put in his hand two large handsome gold medals that had been struck in commemoration of her husband's elevation to the Imperial dignity. As there was no mint at that time in Mexico, and as the medals were extremely beautiful in design and make, it was evident that they had been coined in some one of the old world's great minting establishments on the order perhaps of Yturbide himself.

The daughters were educated in convents in Philadelphia; the sons at Mt. St. Mary College, Baltimore. One of them, as inheritor of his father's title of constitutional hereditary Emperor of Mexico, was afterward adopted by the ill-fated Maximilian as his successor, in a well-conceived but futile attempt at political sagacity. We have no further account of the child baptized in New Orleans nor of the ex-empress, although doubtless Philadelphia could furnish a record of her life there and of her death.

MEETING OF DECEMBER, 1917.

The regular monthly meeting of the Historical Society took place on Wednesday night, December 20th, at the Cabildo. In the absence of Mr. Cusachs, Mr. Dymond presided.

Owing to the tardy appearance of the Secretary, who was delayed by slow street cars, the minutes of last meeting were not read.

Col. Isaac Dickson Wall gave a talk on Baton Rouge, its past and present.

Mr. T. P. Thompson read a most carefully written paper on the origin of the various names by which the Mississippi River has been recorded in history. It was listened to with interest and warmly applauded.

Mr. Glenk presented the name of Mr. Robert Rebentisch for membership. He was elected.

Mr. Hart made a motion that his resolution introduced at the last meeting be laid over until the next meeting. Adopted.

The Society then adjourned.

ORIGIN OF THE VARIOUS NAMES OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

By T. P. THOMPSON.

The great river that flows down the most fertile valley in all the world—the Mississippi—has been known by various and many names in its recorded history. The name it bears today appears to be the modern spelling interpretation of the original Algonquin Indian phonetic expression, Mech-e-se-be, meaning great waters.

I have drawn down from various source books in my possession a chronology, which I have been able to trace from many maps and relations of the beginnings of American history.

The first appearance of a great river on a map, at a point about the present mouth of the Mississippi in the Gulf of Mexico, was on chart sent to Charles V, 1520, by Cortez: a large, forked stream entering a bay about the center of the arched northern boundary of the Mexican Gulf, is indicated: Rio del Spiritu Sancto (River of the Holy Ghost).

Cabiza de Vaca did not name the broad stream he found on his way to Mexico from Florida in 1528. De Vaca was sailing along the gulf coast, and relates that he came across a fresh water outflow at a point about longitude 90°. It was more than a hundred years after de Vaca that DeSoto, on May 8, 1541, came to the great river which he called Rio Grande and which he described as being a league and a half wide. The point at which he crossed was just below the present Helena, Ark. Five months later his party returned to the Rio Grande, as they recorded it; then, after DeSoto's death and burial in the river opposite the mouth of the Red River, Moscoso, second in command, brought the remnant of this brave expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi, the first European to traverse the Father of Waters!

Garcillasso, who wrote an account of DeSoto, called the river Chucagua; he says the Indians so called it. This was one of the early names of the Ohio.

The Portuguese Knight of Elvas, who accompanied DeSoto, gives the nomenclature of the Mississippi as follows: At Guachoya it was known as Tamalisieu; at Nilco, as Tapatu; at Coza, as Mico (chief), and at its entrance, The River. These names, however, might have meant other streams.

The early name they heard spoken by the Choctaws was Ochechiton, signifying the Great Water. The Spaniards concluded this to be the southern Indian name for the river marked on Cortez's map as Espiritu Sancto and which they colloquially among themselves called the Rio Grande.

DeSoto left no maps. It was in a Florida map of Ortelius, in 1580, that the first interior course of the Rio Grande (the Mississippi) is shown. The name Rio del Spritu Sancto is here given to the stream.

The old maps of this period named the principal stream flowing into the Gulf of Mexico variously as: Chucaquax, Canaveral, and Rio de Flores.

It was not until the Governor of New Mexico, Peñolosa, left Santa Fe, in 1661, to visit the Quivera Indians, that the Algonquin name of Mischipi, as he spelled it, is used in the records.

Peñolosa has the credit of being the first European to use the common Algonquin term, although the Arkansas Indians he heard it from were not of Algonquin stock; thus showing the river was known practically throughout its length in pre-pioneer days as Mee-chee see bee.

In Volume 51 of the Jesuit Relations, edited by Thwaites, Allouez, the Jesuit missionary, is credited with using the word Mississippi for the first time by priest or pioneer. This was before the discovery by Marquette. For thirty years there had been indications in the Jesuit letters of a great river flowing south or southwest, its sources not far from the Great Lakes.

Father Allouez, writing from Green Bay, speaks of "tribes who live to the west of here, toward the great river called Messipi; a memorable remark, this being the first time this Algonquin name of the river appears in any of the writings of the French.

Marquette, in 1672, used the word Mississippi. Hennepin's map of 1683 names the Mississippi as River Colbert, which was the name given to the water by LaSalle March 13, 1682, with great ceremony, at Kapaha. LaSalle speaks of the Indian name Mississippi, meaning among the Ontaonas (Owtawans); the Great River, and Mascicciipi, as spoken by the Illinois with the same meaning.

When Iberville sailed westward looking for "LaSalle's river," in 1698, he was told by the Biloxi Indians that the great river he looked for was known in their language as the Malbanchia, and had been called by the Spaniards the River of the Palisades.

The Choctaw traditional name for the Mississippi was Occochappo—The Ancient Waters (H. B. Cushman). J. V. Brower, in his book on the Mississippi, page 282, gives, under the title of "Traditionary and Geographic Nomenclature of the Mississippi," the following observations:

"Prior to DeSoto's expedition, the savage tribes applied names to their respective possessions along its banks. From Cortez's map, *Espirito Sancto*, in two words is *Meeche Sebe*, original Algonquin. In various relations of DeSoto's expedition the following Indian names for the great stream, Muskogean in origin, are given: *Chicagua*, *Tamaliseu Japatu*, *Mico*, *Rio Grande* and *The River*.

"*Palisado* and *Escondido* were later Spanish designations, the first referring to floating trees seen at the mouth, the second because of cut-offs, bayous, etc., making it difficult to follow its channel.

"*St. Louis* was the original French designation then, conception by Marquette; *Buade*, family name of Frontenac, by Joliet; *Colbert*, after the eminent French statesman, by LaSalle; *Mischipi*, by Freytas, who came with Penicaut in 1661 to the Arkansas country; *Messipi*, by Father Allonez, quoting the Algonquin terms, in 1667; *Meschasipi*, Hennepin's map, 1683; *Michi Sepe*, Laval's version; *Labat*, *Misisipi* later French version; *Mississippi*, pioneer western *Mississippi*; *Mississippi*, American version, nineteenth century. Gould says: 'An analysis of the word shows that it does not mean 'Father of Waters' at all. Thus: *Mis-sisk*=grass; *Mis-sisk-ke-on*=weeds; *Mis-sisk-ke*=medical herbs, and *Mis-ku-tuk*. The broad bottom lands of the river were called *Mis-ku-tuk*; the tribes along the river, *Mis-shu-tau*, signifying 'meadow people;' thus the literal meaning of the word is the River of Meadows and Grass."

From the above we gather that, having made the circle of many names and gotten back to an elaborated spelling of the original Algonquin designation, the largest of the linguistic tribes living on its borders, we may let "Great Waters," "Father of Waters," or "Meadow River" be its poetic interpretation. Mississippi, as it is now recorded, well names this noble stream, and, within its four syncopating syllables, there rolls from the tongue a name that brings to Americana students a world of romance and story.

MEETING OF JANUARY, 1917.

The Louisiana Historical Society held its annual meeting on the evening of January 17th in the Cabildo, with a good attendance of officers and members.

The Secretary read the minutes of the previous meeting, which were approved.

The following communication was read from Mr. Gustave Pitot, giving information about the painter Jacques Amans, who had painted many portraits in New Orleans:

NEW ORLEANS, December 8, 1916.

An article from C. W. Boyle, curator of the Delgado Museum, is herewith enclosed, which will prove interesting.

Amans was always known to our family and others as plain "Jacques" Amans. He invariably signed his works "J. Amans." He married a Miss Landreaux, daughter of a sugar planter of St. Charles Parish, and, fearing the consequences of the Civil War, left with her for Europe, with her nephew and niece, Pierre and Marie Landreaux. He purchased a beautiful property near Versailles, "Lacour Levy," where he and his wife died, leaving all of their property to their nephew and niece.

Among his portraits, of which I had any knowledge, are those of Mrs. Isadore Labatut and Honorable Felix Grima and his aged mother and wife; Armant Pitot and wife; Mrs. Alfred Bouigny; Gabriel Montegut, and others whose names have escaped my memory.

An interesting painting of his is that of "Mariquite a la Calentura," as she appeared in the passage of St. Antoine, near

the Presbytery of the St. Louis Cathedral, old and shriveled up, warming herself by a fire; she is accompanied by a young woman carrying a pail of water and a gypsy woman. I see her as she there appears in her painting, now in the possession of Miss Alice Pitot, and recall the days of my childhood when to meet her was an occasion of fright and a running off to my old mammy. Mariquite has left little to be known of her. I have forgotten her family name. Her father came to New Orleans with her, a young girl, and lived, I think, corner of St. Claude and Esplanade, on the site now occupied by the Augustin family. She was held indoors, like all Spanish girls, and forbidden to see any one alone; but love was stronger than her father's commands, and she eloped with a young man and her father never forgave her. It may be that the father's unnatural act tended to prey on her mind and eventually brought on a stage of occasional folly, which marked here declining years.

I have no record of how and when she died.

Another Amans painting held by Miss Pitot is the bust of a monk in contemplation before a skull.

These two paintings are now in the hands of Mr. Glenk, curator of the Museum, where you can see them at any time.

Yours very truly,

GUSTAVE PITOT.

PAINTER AMANS.

NEW ORLEANS, September 7, 1914.

To the Editor of The Times-Picayune:

A writer in your paper has asked for information of the deceased painter, J. G. L. Amans.

From the best information at hand, I learn that he was born in Belgium, 1801, and died in Paris 1888. He painted in New Orleans from about 1830 until 1856; after which he went to Paris, and left as his agent here the firm of A. Rocherau & Co., and later Jules Andrieu of said firm. Many portraits by Amans are owned by old families of New Orleans, and there is at present one good example in the Delgado Museum of Art and another in the Louisiana State Museum.

C. W. BOYLE,

Curator Delgado Museum of Art.

The paper of the evening, "Forgotten Treks," by Mr. P. M. Milner, was read by Mr. T. P. Thompson, owing to Mr. Milner's enforced absence, caused by a bereavement in his family. The paper was of unusual interest, treating of the old highways through the country, the Indian trails and buffalo paths, that were the only paths, as we may say, opened to civilization through the forests of North America from Canada to Louisiana, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

Mr. Milner's research work had been so carefully done that he presented a fairly complete compendium of all that had heretofore been written upon the subject and traced upon the maps. The paper will furnish a new authority for consultation by future students, and the Historical Society points with pride to it. Mr. Milner, by vote, was thanked for the paper and Mr. Thompson for reading it. In the discussion that followed of complimentary remarks, Mr. Dymond contributed one of his bright and interesting short talks, relating some of his own voyages as a youth over these forgotten treks.

The following members were added to the Society:

Miss Rene Duncan

Mrs. E. W. Baker

Mrs. S. B. Sneath

Mrs. Ben Lewis

Alexander Hay

Mr. Thompson gave a rough outline of the historical facts to be commemorated in the forthcoming celebration of the bi-centennial of the founding of New Orleans.

The annual election of officers coming next on the program, Mr. Bentley, after an eulogistic preamble on the present officers, moved their reelection. Motion was seconded and all officers were reelected by acclamation.

Mr. Robert Glenk, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, read his annual report, which showed a good and steady progress in the work and membership force of the Society. He was warmly applauded at the end of it, and with many expressions of self-congratulation and satisfaction the Society adjourned.

FORGOTTEN TREKS.

By PURNELL M. MILNER.

What a wealth of picture, imagination and romance these words bring to mind. The old Dutch word for trails, as used in South Africa, has an instantaneous effect of removing us from the crowded streets, tall buildings, tumultuous activities and hideous noises of a modern city to faraway lands, quaint costumes and lumbering wagons.

It lends color to our thoughts, leaving us quieted, restful, inviting us to a dreamy, imaginative retrospection, letting us see, as it were, with half-closed eyes, the primitive condition of the early inhabitants as to travel and the vast stretches of mountains, plains and unexplored forests of our great country and later of Louisiana—the Louisiana of a hundred years ago and more.

How wonderful, how fear-inspiring, must have been the days when great-hearted men of supreme courage, splendid vitality and unsurpassed strength went forth to conquer and subdue Nature herself, represented by her primeval forests, her trackless plains and inaccessible mountain passes, hitherto untrodden by white men.

What an inspiring sight, therefore, was the great Spanish explorer, Fernando DeSoto, with his 600 followers, clad in mail and fully armed, with 200 splendid caparisoned horses, landing at Tampa Bay to explore the country in quest of gold and fortune.

Follow the wonderful expedition through magnificent forests, treeless prairies, vast dismal swamps and over almost impenetrable bogs, from Tampa Bay north to Tallahassee into and through Georgia, to Augusta, touching South Carolina, North Carolina, at Cherokee, and Southern Tennessee, passing through Indian villages, attacked night and day by marauding Indians, undergoing every conceivable hardship!

Turning southwest, after reaching Tennessee, the party passed through northwest Georgia and Tuscaloosa, Alabama, to Mobile; whence again they persevered and passed in a northerly direction through the State of Mississippi, discovering the Mississippi River in 1541, probably at Chickasaw Bluff, thus gaining, not gold, nor treasure, but everlasting fame. Crossing the river at

or near the village of Mitchigamos, above the mouth of the Arkansas, and spending the next year in exploration of the west bank, DeSoto again turned southwest from St. Francis County and stopped at Little Rock; thence he went into northwest Arkansas and came to a place where he found "a lake of very hot water and somewhat bracken"—evidently Hot Springs. In the Spring of 1542, he started south and, worn out by exposure and hardship, he died and was buried secretly in the waters of the great River he had discovered. (Matthew Page Andrews' History of the United States; Fay Hempstead in a History of Arkansas in "The South in the Building of a Nation," Volume —; Publication Arkansas Historical Association, Volume I, 128.)

Our own beloved historian Gayarre, in his History of Louisiana, French Domination, Volume I, page 15, says: "What material for romance. Here is chivalry with all its glittering pomp, its soul-stirring aspirations in full march, with its iron heels, and gilded spurs, towards the unknown and hitherto unexplored soil of Louisiana."

And as we bid adieu to this unparalleled romance and see the great commander just before his death, careworn, sullen, distant, and his men in rags and animal skins, wandering aimlessly and hopelessly, without tents or baggage, we can not but cast a glance back to Cuba and pity his faithful wife, Isabella, waiting hopefully and proudly the return of her lord, only to die of grief uncontrollable.

Truly a forgotten trail.

An interesting, though perhaps purely imaginary line of DeSoto's route is found on page 6 of a History of the United States, by Matthew Page Andrews; but William Delisle's map of 1718 shows DeSoto's route with apparent reasonably accuracy.

Perhaps the oldest known trail on the American Continent today passes through the Canyon de Mortenda, in Mexico, the scene of early Spanish exploration and conquest, where the solid rock has been worn fourteen inches deep by the moccasined feet of prehistoric Indians.

Mr. A. L. Westgard, Director of Transcontinental Highways of the National Highways Association, announced that this old trail will be shown shortly in his full colored motion pictures of New Mexico, which will necessarily include the cliff dwellings and prehistoric caves.

Mrs. N. Miller Currey, in her recent publication, "The Commerce of Louisiana During the French Regime, 1699-1763," says in effect:

When the French entered the Mississippi Valley there were two sorts of highways fairly well marked—migratory routes of buffalo and Indian trails. At places identical, like Cumberland Gap, continuing some distance and then dividing; the Indian trails leading to the falls of the Ohio, the buffalo paths to Otter Creek (Hartley's *Life of Daniel Boone*).

Year after year the buffalo went over the same path from pasture to drinking places, and packed the earth so solidly that no vegetation grew. These paths were as wide as two wagons. (Butler's *History of Commonwealth of Kentucky*.) The buffalo paths in eastern part of Mississippi Valley served the English settlers and pointed the way over the mountains and across the country. Thomas Benton says "the buffalo blazed the way for the railways to the Pacific."

Indian trails were not so well defined and more uneven. Marquette (1675) at 60 leagues from the mouth of the Wisconsin, found a well-beaten path from one Indian nation to another.

Trails between the Illinois and Fox tribes in Illinois County and the Chickasaws and Choctaws in lower Louisiana were trading paths and used by the French (Adair *History of American Indians*). Important points were the meeting places for securing food or trading, like Shawnaton, Peoria, Danville, at Fort St. Louis, on upper Illinois. From 1706 there was a path between Kaskaskia and Detroit, northeast across Illinois.

The old Sioux trail passed from mouth of the Rock River almost directly across Illinois, where it turned northeast and finally terminated at Madden, Canada. Other trails led from the French settlement at Kaskaskia and Mississippi Rivers to points in Illinois County.

This trail, before the end of the French control in Mississippi Valley, was converted into a military road and each mile marked on a tree, the numbers being cut in with iron and marked red. (Trans. Ill. St. Hist. So. No. 8, page 39.)

Another led from same French village north of east to a point on the Wabash River, near where Fort Vincennes was located. Later it extended to the Falls of the Ohio, where it joined the Wilderness Trail.

Later, when the Mississippi Valley fell under control of the English, some of the Indian trails became well-known roads. For example, the trail through Cumberland Gap, in the Falls of the Ohio, came to be known as the "Wilderness Road." Over this route and numerous by-paths, travelers and packhorses passed to all parts of the territory along the Ohio, Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. To the west of the Mississippi the route followed by Mather Brothers & Companies 1739-1740, from Illinois to Santa Fe, later became the famous Santa Fe Trail.

From Kaskaskia to the Wabash, distance 105 miles, a horseman could pass in five days. Not during the French period nor years afterwards was it possible to go by cart.

There was another trading route from Kaskaskia, via Cahokia, to Peoria, and thence to Galena, Illinois.

Indians south of Ohio River said Iberville in 1702 found some good bridle trails easily made for carts between different Indian villages around Mobile.

Creek Indians had many trails (favorably located for trade with English—both to Indian villages and interior to English at Fort Morse and Augusta. High Tow Path began at High Shoals on the Oconee River and passed west to Chattahooche, where it crossed Shallow Fort, north to present Atlanta; thence northeast and west to Hightown in Cherokee County, and thence almost west to the Chickasaw villages near the source of the Tombigbee.

Dr. Thos. M. Owen, LL. D., has written an historical Introduction to Alabama Roads and Highways, published by Wm. F. Prouty, Ph. D., chief assistant geological survey of Alabama, which contains most interesting details concerning old trails. I take the liberty of substantially copying a portion of his article:

"The early explorers of aboriginal America in their ever-continuous marches from the seaboard into the interior soon realized that this vast region was not a pathless wilderness."

"They found the villages, whether contiguous or far apart, connected by trails, and these trails were used by the explorers themselves in their expeditions. In process of time, in the progress of exploration, it was found that Indian America was, in fact, a vast network of such trails, connecting not only village with village of the same tribe, but extending far off to other

tribes, so that it was feasible by means of these trails to traverse the entire continent. The trails were always along lines where there were the fewest physical obstacles or obstructions, often going along on the watershed of two streams, when these watersheds pointed in the right direction. The crossing places of streams were always selected with such judgment that from the most remote period down to the present day these same crossing places have served in numerous instances the purpose of man, whether savage or civilized. The trails also often formed the basis of the modern civilized or white man's road."

"The Great Southern Trading and Migration Trail led from the mouth of St. John's River, Florida, to the mouth of Red River in Louisiana. It crossed the Appalachicola River just below the confluence of the Chattahoochee and Flint and the Mobile River, a few miles above Mobile. It is intimately associated with Mobile colonial history. Apart from its association with war and traffic, it was the great migration trail used by the Southern Indian tribes and sub-tribes that settled in Louisiana after the fall of French dominion in Mobile."

"The Great Pensacola Trading Path, known in the pioneer days as the Wolf Trail, was the most noted trail in Alabama. It led from the Alibamo towns, a group of villages occupying the site of Montgomery, down to Pensacola, and was much used by the Creek Indians and the traders. By the latter it was enlarged into a horse path, and afterwards it became an American road, much of which is still used. The Battle of Burnt Corn occurred on this trail. The present railroad from Montgomery to Pensacola follows closely the lines of the old trail."

"The Big Trading Path, from Mobile to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, ran about a mile west of Citronelle, thence by Isney in Choctaw county and on to Coosha town in Lauderdale County, Mississippi, thence to Plymouth in Lowndes County, Mississippi, thence to the Chickasaw towns. Much of the trading path, then an Indian trail, was traveled by Henri de Tonti in 1702. In American times it became a horse path for traders, afterwards the greater part was used as a post road by the government, and eventually a large part of it was converted into what was known as the Tennessee Road."

“The Great Savannah-Mississippi River Trail led from Savannah up to the northern part of Effingham County, thence west to Tuckabatchie, thence continuing its course to its terminus at Milliken’s Bend on the Mississippi—a trail equal in length to the Great Southern Migration Trail.”

“The Great Cumberland River War Trail led from the Hickory Ground up the east side of Coosa River up to Turkey Town, thence to the well-known creek crossing on the Tennessee River, near the mouth of Town Creek, above Guntersville, thence to the Cumberland settlements in Tennessee. There were three other crossings on the Tennessee River, one at Guntersville, one two miles below it, and one at Ditto’s Landing. But the one near the mouth of Town Creek was the most noted and most used by the war parties in their raids against the Cumberland settlements.”

“The Great Charleston-Chickasaw Trail crossed Savannah River at Augusta, whence the trail ran to Okfusjee in the upper Creek country. From this town it ran to Coosa, thence to Squaw shoals, on the Black Warrior, thence to the old Chickasaw crossing at Cotton Gin. It was first traveled by Colonel Welsh in 1698, and afterwards used by the English traders. At the crossing on the Chattahoochie a branch of the trail ran to the Alibamo towns.”

Mr. Archer Butler Hulbert’s monograph “The Red Men’s Roads” contains perhaps the most exact information of any book on the subject within its scope, but it is confined to the Valley of the Alleghany, north of the Ohio River. He has made his work intensely interesting by the reproduction of old maps. A century and a half ago, he asserts, the valleys were filled with the plunder of the river flood, and there was only one practicable passage across the land for either beast or man—across the hill top, where lay the tawny paths of buffalo or Indian. Showing the use made by the whites of these Indians trails, he says that there is not an important trail in Ohio which is not blazed and it is well known the redmen were not in the habit of blazing their trails.

The borderers of Kentucky were drawn into the fatal battle of Blue Lick because they followed headlong the route of the wily Indian, who by blazing the trees and leaving garments on the ground made it seem that they were in full retreat. These un-

Indian signs rendered Daniel Boone suspicious, but his advice was unheeded, and a massacre was the result. (The Red Men's Road, by Archer Butler Hulbert.)

A few of the well-known trails are:

Fort Miami Trail, from southern and southwestern portion of Ohio to Detroit.

Big Trail, from Fort Pitt to Fort Detroit. This was a main thoroughfare and was followed by various military expeditions and guarded on the Muskingunn by the first fort built in Ohio.

Monongahela Trail, well known war path from center of Indian population in Ohio to the frontier settlements of Long Knives, in southwestern Pennsylvania.

Sandusky-Richmond Trail, important fur route between Virginia and the lake country; also most direct route to central Ohio from the seaboard colonies.

Venango Trail, important trail in days of French regime, as will appear especially over the noted portage of 20 miles from Lake Erie to Fort LeBoeuf on French Creek. (Red Men's Roads, by Archer Butler Hulbert.)

Up to the Revolution, land travel was universally on horseback or foot. The nineteenth century was well advanced before carriages or wagons became common.

The settlements in Virginia and Pennsylvania had no money and no stores and needed the indispensable articles of salt, iron and steel. Peltry and furs were their only resources. In their trading merchandise was transported by packhorses and as late as 1788, at one time there were 500 packhorses at Carlisle being laden to go to Shippensburg, Fort Loudon and westward. Packhorses carried bars of iron on their backs, crooked over and around their bodies, barrels and kegs being on their sides.

The caravan route from the Ohio River to Frederick along the Indian trails crossed the stupendous ranges of the Alleghany mountains. The path was only two feet wide, oftentimes along the precipitous sides of the mountains, where one false step meant destruction.

It was customary for each little neighborhood in the western settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia every Fall to dispatch a little caravan to Baltimore and Frederick, Hagerstown or Oldtown, and later to Fort Cumberland, for merchandise, salt and

iron. As there was no way of getting food either for themselves or their horses, they carried the provisions and made deposits or shelled corn at intervals for their animals on the return trip.

(Rupp's History of Cumberland Co., Pa., 1848. J. L. Ringwalt's "Development of Transportation Systems in the United States.")

Under such hardships was this great country of ours developed and the great Indian races were pushed foot by foot towards the Mississippi River and the great West, untrodden by white men; and while the trails in the Alleghany Valley were many and only extended at most a few hundred miles, the great white race, in its indomitable march westward, left this fringe of civilization behind at the Mississippi and plunged headlong across the great continent.

Now your pulses beat faster and you thrill with adventure, wonder, awe, as you follow the wonderful expedition (1814) of Lewis and Clark (Captain Meriwether Lewis and Lieutenant William Clark) across the continent to faraway Oregon. This expedition opened a continent and gave Americans their first real knowledge of the vastness of the country west of the Mississippi.

With what avidity do you read of the great explorations of that peerless frontiersman, John Charles Fremont, the "Pathfinder," who, as late as 1842, as brevet captain of the Topographical Engineers, with the famous Christopher ("Kit") Carson as a guide, has left a pen picture of the hitherto unknown West, hardly surpassed for accuracy of detail, interestingly narrative and full of color or atmosphere. So graphic is his description that you become a part of the little party and follow the winding paths or trails through the tall prairie grass, across the trackless prairies and run the herds of buffalo for food. Other mixed parties of traders and travelers for pleasure meet you or you overtake some in trouble, but self-reliance was as necessary as it was every man's motto, and you pass on and become lost again among the trackless miles of country reaching north, east, south and west of you. Suddenly the cry of "Indians" is heard and a quick stop is made and every man puts his finger on the trigger of his gun. Coolness, deliberation and self-restraint, however, characterize the little band, and as the naked, painted savages dash up on their horses, a parley takes place, presents are exchanged,

some of the almost priceless food (principally coffee) is given to the chief and, in a few moments, our party is again alone and on its way. Sometimes a horse or some of the cattle would become so tired and poor that they would be killed and the meat dried. Then the craven Pawnees would have a feast on the remains, leaving nothing but the bones. The trail was often lined with carcasses of animals, dead from fatigue and lack of grass, and even human skeletons were frequently seen—telling a sad tale of some fiendish attack and cruelty of the Indians on the warpath, or marauding expedition. Now and then would be met some half-starved Mexicans or Spaniards, who had made their escape from an attacking Indian party, which had taken and driven off their best horses. Revenging the death of such a family, as told by the sole survivor, Kit Carson and Godey left the Fremont party, and alone, across the prairie and into the black mountain fastnesses, tracked the murderers and robbers and caught them around their fires broiling and stewing horseflesh. Counting not their numbers, but boldly attacking them, narrow escaping the arrows, they killed some and put the others to flight, recaptured the horses and returned at night to the trail and the Fremont expedition. Fremont says: "I repeat it was Carson and Godey who did this, the former an American, born in Boonslick County, Missouri, the latter a Frenchman, born in St. Louis, and both trained to western enterprise from early life."

Such adventure in an unknown country peopled with savages, such fearlessness—nay, even lion-hearted courage—is, in this age, almost unbelievable.

Going into Southern California, they reached "The Spanish Trail." Fremont says a road to travel on and the right course to go were joyful consolations. And yet, strange to relate, he says: "Although in California we had met people who had passed over the Trail, we had been able to obtain no correct information about it, and the greater part of what we had heard was found to be only a tissue of falsehood."

And seventy-five years later, we have only a general outline of the "Old Spanish Trail," in spite of the fact that we have an "Old Spanish Trail Association," urging the building of a modern highway from Tampa, Florida, to New Orleans, and thence west to California, to commemorate this Old Trail.

It has been a pleasure, therefore, for me to fix definitely, from a reading of Fremont's narrative, with the aid of an old map, part of this famous but forgotten trail.

It ran from Los Angeles east along the Mohave River to Camp Cody (named after the old pioneer "Buffalo Bill," who died a day or so ago, as stoical as any of the famous Indian chiefs he had fought hand to hand), thence along the Rio Virgin and northeast to La Vegas Santa Clara and north to Utah Lake. Fifty miles due east it turned through Wahsatch Pass and then crossed the Colorado River and passed over the mountains to Santa Fe.

Through the courtesy of Mr. T. P. Thompson, who has shown me a wonderful collection, hardly excelled, of old maps, I am able to trace with the certainty of these old guides the rest of this and other old Spanish trails. St. Denis map of 1713, Bellin's map of 1744 and Latour's map of 1782 show these Spanish trails.

Bellin's map shows a trail from Natchitoches to Presidio del Norte, on the western boundary between Texas and Mexico; also a trail from Santa Fe south along the east bank of the Rio Grande to La Pa St. George; thence to Mexico City. This map also shows the location where LaSalle was killed in Texas, near this old trail, which he was evidently trying to reach on the occasion of his second voyage, when he came direct from France and missed the mouth of the Mississippi.

Delisle's map shows old Spanish road (1689) from Mexico crossing Rio Grande and leading to Nacogdoches, Texas.

St. Denis' map (1713) shows an old Spanish trail from Mexico to Presidio del Norte, thence to the Nacogdoches villages.

Later Spanish trails are shown on William Darby's map of 1816, a splendid map; John Melish's map of 1816; and H. S. Tanner's map of 1820.

These show Indian trails from Lake Charles to Opelousas, to Baton Rouge; from Nacogdoches to Natchitoches, to Alexandria to Opelousas; from Natchitoches to Monroe, thence to Natchez, Mississippi, and a trail north into Arkansas.

Darby's map of 1816 shows an Indian trail from Lake Charles to New Iberia, along the Teche, to Morgan City.

Melish's map of 1816 shows old Spanish trail from Presidio del Norte to Natchitoches, and thence to Natchez, Mississippi.

In this connection, I am fortunate in being able to give some local color to this old trail. I am indebted to Mr. Phanor Breazeale, of Natchitoches, for a personal letter speaking of the old trail from his home to Mexico. He says: Some of the old records here disclose that as early as 1760, and particularly between 1810 and 1840, quite an important trade existed between this place and Mexico, carried on by means of packhorses. You find in the southwestern part of the parish evidences of the existence of this old road, and in the '30's and '40's there was a beautiful point midway between Natchitoches and the Sabine River, in a southwesterly direction, an extensive pleasure resort. Remains of the old brick pillars are still extant. This resort consisted of tavern, race track, cockpit, billiard hall, saloon, etc. It was largely maintained by the garrison of the United States troops at Fort Jessup in Sabine Parish. My grandmother, who died at the age of 96, frequently told us of the gayeties of the place and how she went there on horseback with her husband. A Mrs. Hyams, 102 years of age, has a fine memory, and tells of the immense trade between this post and Mexico. It is authenticated that on this Mexican trail there was a battle fought sixty or seventy miles from Natchitoches, on the edge of Vernon Parish, between the cavalcade returning from Mexico laden with Mexican money and bandits, and legend says that in order to avoid capture the traders buried the money, and to this day occasionally credulous parties search for the money.

An interesting old map of 1759 of "British and French Settlements Exhibiting the Just Boundaries and French Encroachments" shows trading path from Richmond, Virginia, to Petersburg, North Carolina, to Augusta, Georgia, and west, bearing north, to Chickasaw towns and English factories, located nearly opposite a point reached by Marquette on first trip near the mouth of the Arkansas; another from Philadelphia to Cape Fear; another trail from St. Augustine along the coast to West Appalachicola River.

Wm. Darby's map of 1816 and Melish's map of 1816 show trail from Fort Stoddard, Alabama, across the State of Mississippi, to Baton Rouge.

Tanner's map of 1820 shows a trail, Bay St. Louis, across the River Jordan, across Pearl River, entering Washington Parish,

Louisiana, and running west to St. Tammany courthouse (Covington), passing through St. Helena Parish to St. Francisville, and following the river road to New Orleans. Also a road from Madisonville northwest to Natchez, Mississippi.

These maps show the great trails east of the Alleghanys; for instance, trading paths from Fredericksburg, through Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia to Coweta.

St. Denis' map of 1713, before the founding of this city, shows the Oumas village at or near this present site.

The first roadway in Louisiana, an original portage, is probably Grand Chemin de Bayou St. Jean, from Hospital Street to Bayou Gentilly across and on to the headwaters of Bayou St. John. Before the settlement of New Orleans this road was used by Oumas Indians and before the Oumas began using this portage from their village located in 1706 at the point of Bayou Road and the Bayou, this same road had been used by the Choctaws on their hunting and trading migrations. The Gentilly and Chef Menteur Road is a branch of Bayou Road and used by the Indians. There was also the short cut to Magnolia Groves (Minor Kenner) along Metairie Bayou. The road along the east bank of the river was originally called German Coast Road, later Royal Road, then Tchoupitoulas Road, leading to plantations of that name, to Red Church and Baton Rouge and St. Francisville. (Courtesy of Mr. T. P. Thompson.)

Just how early there were established Spanish trails from Mexico into California I have not learned. The San Diego Mission was founded in 1768, and San Francisco Bay discovered in 1770. The Spanish power in California was overthrown by the Mexicans in 1822, and then the settlement of California began in earnest. During the years 1843-46 thousands of immigrants passed into California, and when gold was discovered in 1848, over two hundred thousand people crossed the plains from the Atlantic States.

There is nothing more picturesque in American history than the great caravans, particularly the great Mormon exodus of 1847, that slowly plodded westward over the old Oregon, Utah and California trails, with their long line of "prairie schooners," drawn by oxen carrying men, women and children, who suffered indescribable hardships. In the twilight, or covered with the red

hue of a setting sun, the long line of wagons winding its way through the prairies toward the West, that had sent its call to the East, beyond the Mississippi River, must have presented a picture never to be forgotten.

Volumes could be written on old trails, their history and romance, but the scope of this article does not permit too much elaboration nor narrative.

Of all the old trails, the Utah, California and the Oregon, the Santa Fe is the most famous. Most writers overlook its origin and do not know it. Senator O. W. Underwood, in a speech at Nashville, September, 1915, said:

"One of the oldest is the Santa Fe Trail, the beginning of which was in 1520, when Francisco Vasquez de Coronado led an expedition of exploration and conquest from Mexico up into Kansas. In 1596 Santa Fe de San Francisco (the true city of the Holy Faith of St. Francis) was founded in a plain, rimmed in by mountains, where the Spaniards and Mexicans slept for two centuries, between wars with the Indians. In 1825 the trail was made an authorized road by Act of Congress. In the next two years it was surveyed and marked out, from the western frontier of Missouri, near Fort Osage, to San Fernando de Zaos, near Santa Fe. Fort Leavenworth was established to give military protection to the hazardous trade with the southwest. Most intelligent Americans know of the old trail, but very few know just where it ran. 'It wound through strange, scarred hills, down canyons lone, where wild things screamed, with winds for company; its mile-stones were the bones of pioneers.' In these days the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad practically follows the pass trail."

This is the original Santa Fe Trail. In later years, the trail from El Paso, through Douglas, Phoenix and Yuma, Arizona, into Lower California, to San Diego and Los Angeles, was called the Santa Fe Trail.

William Beckness, with a party of thirty men, made the first trading trip to Santa Fe. This was a thousand mile jaunt through unknown country and blazed the way for fifty years after for commerce between civilization and the great southwest. Later it was laid out by order of the United States Government. Treaties were made with the Indians at Council Grove and McPherson, Kansas, for a right of way forever for the Santa Fe Trail. Benton

advocated a 200-foot-wide road from Kansas City to the Pacific Coast over this trail.

To the Daughters of the American Revolution are due the honors of starting the movement to commemorate these old trails. The national society planted "markers" along the route, being large granite blocks set in cement foundations inscribed "Santa Fe Trail 1822-1872, marked by the Daughters of the American Revolution 1906." (Harry W. Graham, *Jefferson Highway Declaration*, Vol. 1, 51.)

Tennessee Historical Magazine: "During the years immediately after the War of the Revolution, the Virginia settlements extended further westward than those of North Carolina and the line of migration lay directly along the Great Indian Warpath which ran northeast and southwest and over which passed the northern and southern Indians 'in their intercourse with the distant tribes, in their hunting excursions, in their hostile expeditions and in their embassies of peace; this was the path of migration, the chase, the treaty and savage invasion.' Immigrants coming from more eastern and northern sections struck this path and crossed New River at Inglis' Ferry, not far from old Fort Chisel. They reached the Holston (North Branch) at Seven Mile Ford, crossed it near the Long Island and were then soon in Carter's Valley where, as has been seen, settlers from Virginia located at an early date." (Ramsey's Tennessee, page 88; Royce's Cherokees map.)

"The Warpath continuing southwest passed close to Rogersville, Tennessee, which may be counted as the eastern terminus of the road laid out by Daniel Boone, later known as the Wilderness Road. This road turned westward, passed through Cumberland Gap and into the new Promised Land of Kentucky. Toward Cumberland Gap all southern roads looking into the unknown west converged" (Speed's Wilderness Road, page 16) "just as in more modern times railroads converged at Kansas City and made that the gateway to the new southwest."

"But while the Wilderness Road was one of the oldest into the western country and one of the best known, it remained a mere trail till 1795, when it was widened into a wagon track." (A Century of Population Growth, 1790-1900, page 21, quoting Speed op. cit., page 51.)

The Gaines Road or Trace was a trading path or portage from the Tennessee River to the Tombigbee River, near Columbus, Mississippi, where merchandise was carried by boats to the Indian trading houses at Fort Stephens.

It extended from Melton's Bluff at the head of Elk River Shoals, Tennessee River, to Cotton Gin Fort, on the Tombigbee River. By treaty of September 26, 1816, it became the eastern boundary of the Chickasaw tribe. (Dr. Thomas M. Owen, LL. D., Director Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.)

We now come to the greatest of all national roads, the "Old Cumberland Road." The first was Nemacolin's Path, or Braddock's Road, laid out by authority of Washington, 1711, through the forests between the Potomac and Monongahela, which was used by General Braddock in his campaign against the French. This Old Cumberland Road was inaugurated at the instigation of Thos. Jefferson, President, in 1802. It was to lead from navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic westward to the Ohio River. A percentage of the proceeds of the sale of public lands in Ohio and later Indiana were to be applied to build the road.

On December 19, 1805, a committee of Congress recommended that the funds derived from the sale of these lands be expended in constructing a road from Cumberland, Maryland, to a point on the Ohio River opposite the city of Steubenville, Ohio. Following the report of the committee, an act was approved by President Jefferson on March 29, 1806, providing for the construction of the road, which became known as the Cumberland or National Highway. The first appropriation of \$30,000 was followed by thirty-three other appropriations aggregating \$6,824,919. On April 21, 1905, Congress passed an act authorizing the extension of the road from a point near Cincinnati, by way of Vincennes, to the Mississippi River, near St. Louis. As a matter of fact, this road was not extended beyond Vandalia, Illinois, on account of the rapid growth in the construction of railroads at about this time. The first stage coach bearing the United States mail from Cumberland to Wheeling was driven over this road on August 1, 1818. From Cumberland to Columbus, Ohio, the road was surfaced, but beyond Columbus it was surfaced only in spots.

After a full century this road is still paying dividends in public service, as it is now one of the most traveled roads in the States through which it passes. The appropriations were expended under expert supervision, with the result that modern surfaces are now being placed over the foundations built so long ago, and the stone bridges built at that time are still in an excellent state of preservation and are splendid examples of the finest class of highway construction. Stage coach and wagon traffic in the history of the country, lasted until the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was completed across the mountains in 1853. Many substantial taverns were built, some of them standing to-day. Gradually the Federal Government lost interest in the road and turned back the control to the State. In 1913 many parts of it are unfit for travel.

Today, due to the revival in road building which, in my opinion, is the greatest question, economically, industrially, educationally and socially, before the American people today, this road, which runs from Cumberland Gap, Maryland, to junction of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers at St. Louis, has been rebuilt and it is a wonderful scenic route, with an historical background beyond comparison with any of its rivals. Mr. T. G. Seagriff, of Uniontown, Pa., has written a History of the Old Pike, 1894, dealing principally with personal or individual reminiscences of the old tavern keepers, freight wagon drivers and stage coach proprietors. Mr. Archer Butler Hulburt (1904) has also written interestingly of the road, but the most complete data, topographical, historical and otherwise, concerning this greatest of all highways in this country is given by Mr. Robert Bruce's "The National Road," published by the National Highways Association.

These maps show the old Natchez Trace (the Great Columbian Highway), the Melish map (1816) shows both the Natchez Trace and the Jackson Military Highway. Both are full of history and tradition.

The Natchez Trace dates from 1801, when treaties were made with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, October 24, 1801, and December 17, 1801, for opening a road through this territory from Nashville, Tennessee, to Natchez, Mississippi.

This was the first post route in the southern country. Its route was southwest, passing the towns of Franklin and Columbia, Tennessee, crossing the Tennessee River, a few miles below Mussel Shoals, at Colbert Ferry, cutting through the northwest corner of Alabama, into Mississippi, and continuing to Natchez, 383 miles.

Senator Underwood pathetically remarks that, like many another public servant, it is cast aside, if not condemned, when worn out and no longer of use.

For twenty-five years the Trace was a most important highway within 200 miles of the Mississippi. Practically all the export trade of Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio went down the rivers to New Orleans, while the men and returns came back over the trace. Its only military history was when in 1812 the British threatened an invasion of the South, Coffee took a troop of cavalry down the trace to New Orleans. (Senator O. W. Underwood, Nashville, Tennessee, September, 1915.)

He says it was the only road provided for in any treaty. He is, in this, mistaken, because, as we have shown, treaties were made at Council Grove and McPherson, Kansas, for a right of way for the Santa Fe Trail and part of Jackson Military Highway was originally a trace opened by treaty.

General Jackson's old military highway has peculiar interest to us of New Orleans, and through the kindness of Mr. J. W. Milner, of Florence, Alabama, I have had the use of much original data, including road plan or route of the army from Mobile to New Orleans.

In 1805 a treaty was made with the Indians and a road was opened from the Cumberland River at Nashville to the headwaters of the Tombigbee River, where Columbus, Mississippi, now is. This road crossed the Tennessee at the present site of Florence, Alabama. This was for the purpose of sending supplies and protection to settlers in the Creek County in Alabama. When the Indian wars were over and the Battle of New Orleans had been fought, Generals Jackson and Coffee returned to Tennessee by partly a selected course, partly the Natchez Trace, and partly the Jackson Military Road on the "Road to Tombigbee," as it was then called. He then wrote the Secretary of War putting forth the necessity of a direct military road from Nashville to

New Orleans. In response to this, Congress appropriated money for equipment and ordered the army to be employed on this work. The road already opened from Nashville to Tombigbee was improved and then the road was cut out and built from there to Madisonville, Louisiana. In Florence, Alabama, Russellville, Alabama, and Columbus, Mississippi, the original line of the road is retained on principal streets cutting through blocks at odd angles. It ran southwest through Tusculum, Colbert (formerly Franklin) County, Russellville, Franklin County (where it crossed the Gaines Road or Trace), Old Pikeville, Marion County, Sulligent (old Moscow), Lamar (then Marion) County to Columbia, Mississippi. In April, 1816, Congress made an appropriation for the road.

J. W. Milner, in a letter to P. M. Milner, October 9, 1916:

This highway is now being converted into a modern highway, with concrete bridges, through the activity of the Jackson Highway Association, of which I have the honor to be a Director. I have a copy from the Impartial Review and Cumberland Repository, published in Nashville, Tennessee, by Thomas Eastin, Tennessee Historical Files of the Proposal published November 8, 1906, for opening and laying out the Natchez Trace. It was described as running from Nashville to Tennessee River, 112 miles; Tennessee or branch of Big Black River, 113 miles; Leonachitta Creek to River to Loonachitta Creek to Grindston Ford, 155 miles—total 380 miles. Work was to be completed October 1, 1807.

I have a copy of the letter addressed to Major General Jackson in the Nashville Whig, July 3, 1819 (Carnegie Library, Nashville, Tennessee), lauding him for his services and giving information in relation to the military road between Madisonville, at the mouth of the Tchefuncta (sic) and the State of Tennessee, closing with this exhortation: "Were you an eyewitness of the impositions which are practiced on those useful men who are engaged once, if not twice, in every year in transporting the immense products of the western country to New Orleans on their return home, both by white and Red Indians—were you a witness of the many sufferings by starvation—could you see the many useful men who faint by reason of the impurity of the food they received from the Indians—yes, who died of their effects, you

could not avoid putting in employment on a military road every soldier who can be spared from the garrisons in the southern military division of the United States. What joy when the road was just being completed August 29, 1820, is shown by the Nashville Whig September 5, 1820. The road is now complete from this place to New Orleans. Houses of entertainment have been erected at short stops to render every comfort to the traveler. This road runs through a delightful and romantic country and must eventually become the great thoroughfare to the Southern States."

"The day is not far distant when a line of stages will be established from Nashville to New Orleans, which must necessarily render the military road the most important of any on the Continent."

"By an act of Congress the postmaster general is instructed to run the Southern mail through this route instead of via Natchez, and as this regulation will furnish us Orleans dates several dates earlier than usual, we hope that it will take effect without further delay. To the grandchild of General John Coffee, Mr. Robery Dyas, through Mr. J. W. Milner, I am indebted for original papers and excerpts from his grandfather's military journal."

In 1813, January 7, volunteers were called out to go to the defense of New Orleans and lower Mississippi. The general orders directed cavalry to strike tents on January 10 and proceed to New Orleans, taking the route of Franklin, Columbia, Captain Dobbins and thence along the Columbian or Natchez Road to Colbert's Ferry on the Tennessee. An entry "Camp at Norton's, February 10" would indicate that they continued on the Natchez Trace after crossing the Tennessee. On this occasion they used the Natchez Trace.

On September 20, 1814, an order is entered: The volunteer horsemen * * * will * * * rendezvous at Fayetteville on the 28th and will march the earliest possible to Fort St. Stephens. On October 4, 1814, in a letter to General Jackson, General Coffee says: "I shall take up the line of march, cross the Tennessee River at the upper end of the shoal by Levi Colbert's, James Brown, Richlands' and to Fort St. Stephens." On November 1, 1814, he was at Fort Mimms, just above Mobile, then

went to Pensacola, returning to Fort Mimms November 14, then took Old Trails due west, camping at Corson's Ferry, November 18, and at Liberty, near Amite City, December 5, 1814, and at Sandy Creek, near Baton Rouge, on December 13, 1814, whence the famous march to New Orleans.

His journal shows that after the Battle of New Orleans, March 15, 1815, the orders were: On the 17th instant the brigade of Tennessee volunteers, mounted gunmen, under my command, will commence its march to Nashville, in the State of Tennessee; "the route by which I shall march will be to Baton Rouge, Washington, W. T. McKearin's Choctaw Line, Choctaw Agency, Chickasaw Agency, Tennessee River, Colbert's Ferry, Columbia and to Nashville." This bears out Mr. J. W. Milner's statement of the return route of General Jackson.

The original documents being the road route by Mr. H. Toulmin, contained in a letter to General Jackson, dated Pearl River, 27th of November, 1814, has enabled me to add something to the description of the old Federal road usually given. This old road was originally an Indian trail. By treaty with the Creeks, November 14, 1805, it was formally recognized "A horse path through the Creek country, from the Ocmulgee to Mobile." By 1811, it had expanded to the other with immigrants from the western part of the territory. It was the great highway in the south Atlantic seaboard and interior of Georgia to the whole of south Alabama and Mississippi. Its influence was far-reaching. It survives and is in part still used. It entered Alabama near Fort Mitchell, in Russell County, and passed through the present County of Russell, Macon, Montgomery, Lowndes and Butler, formed a part of the boundary line between Monroe and Conecuh Counties, and continued through Baldwin and Washington Counties. In the early days many forts were located on it. Fort Mitchell, Russell County; Fort Bayne Bridge and Fort Hull, Macon, Mt. Meigs, Montgomery County; Fort Dale, Butler County, and Fort Montgomery, in Baldwin County. Many celebrities traveled over this road. Lorenzo Dow and wife, Peggy Dow, Vice-President Aaron Burr, and General Lafayette and other celebrities. About 1807 it was extended westwardly from old St. Stephens to Natchez. (Thomas M. Owned, LL.D., Director of Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.)

The original letter of which I speak, now in my possession, in giving a route of General Jackson from the Tombigbee to Baton Rouge, says: "N. B.—The Federal Road opened by order of General Hampton and laid off by Captain Gaines, leaves the Mississippi Road at this place and crossed Pearl River lower down." He then locates points on the road as follows: Mimms Ferry, on Black Creek; Chapman's Ferry on Bogue Chitto; Tchefuncta, Springfield, Bookster's Bridge; Baton Rouge (via Taylors). Including the distance from Tombigbee to Mimms Ferry, it made 261 miles.

These original documents, over 100 years old, which necessarily give the exact route and stopping place every few miles, of the party, establish that the outlines of these old trails as exhibited even on the best maps, are accurate only in general detail and that in truth and in fact, these old Indian traces or trails are, in the main, forgotten trails, and that the march of time of one hundred years or more, which has brought a later-day civilization, has covered them up and buried them in the dim, forgotten past.

Their exact existence today we are enabled to locate in the great National Cemetery of Trails, as it were, by a few headstones, scattered here and there, just as when one wanders in the old graveyards of bygone years and finds an old headboard or stone with the name and some simple inscription of a notable character, who had enjoyed fame and distinction, and had been a useful servant of the public, but now forgotten.

I have not mentioned all of the famous trails or roads, like Boone's Lick and others, but if anybody's pet road has been overlooked I offer my profuse apologies.

Resolutions on the Death of John J. Rochester.

To the Members of the Louisiana Historical Society:

Your undersigned committee, appointed to prepare a tribute out of respect to the memory of our deceased fellow-member.

JOHN J. ROCHESTER, beg to report as follows:

While not entirely unprepared for the sad event, the members of this Society and the community in general were greatly shocked to hear that on the night of Tuesday, November 9th, Mr. John

J. Rochester departed for the great beyond, for while we knew that he had been for some time in failing health, our latest information was that he was improving and might soon be able to again resume the duties of life.

Mr. Rochester was born in Salem, Kentucky, and though he lived in New Orleans for sixty-five years of his life, dying at the age of seventy-one, thus having passed the biblical term of three score and ten, and while a loyal and devoted citizen of Louisiana, he never forgot his native state, and was always true to its ideals and traditions. By reason of his father's services as a Kentuckian in the War of the Revolution, Mr. Rochester early became affiliated with the Sons of the American Revolution and held many important offices in the Louisiana Division thereof.

To him, more than to any other person, was due the organization of some years ago, of the Kentucky Society of Louisiana, of which he was the first and, up to the time of his death, the only secretary, and which was the one society of natives of another state which took an active part in connection with this Society and others in historical and patriotic ceremonials.

Mr. Rochester was, for many years, a very active member of this Society, serving on many important committees and taking an active part in the work of the Society in all its celebrations and particularly in connection with the centennial celebrations of 1903, 1912 and 1915, though the condition of his health did not enable him to work as actively in the last event as in the others.

As chairman of the committee of the Society to receive the "New Orleans" in 1912, the replica of the first steamboat which ever navigated the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, he created so much interest and enthusiasm in that important event as to have the work of the Society commented upon and recognized throughout the Mississippi and Ohio valleys.

He was one of the organizers of the movement to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary, in 1910, of the unveiling of the monument to Henry Clay in this city, in which the Kentucky Society joined this Society, and during the ceremonials read a very interesting paper connecting Henry Clay with certain incidents in this city.

During his incumbency as chairman of the Membership Committee of the Society, the membership thereof was almost doubled.

Mr. Rochester had been selected for a very important function in connection with the Liberty Bell reception of November 19, but before that day arrived he was with us no more forever.

We shall miss his genial face, his kindly greetings, and his loving personality, and shall ever remember him as a personal friend of every member of the Society.

We feel that we can do no better in closing this feeble tribute than to repeat part of the memorial prepared by the Wholesale Drummers' Association, of which he was president for many years:

"In the passing of JOHN J. ROCHESTER, New Orleans lost one of its substantial citizens in every sense of the word. Not the amount of largess which he distributed earned for him this distinction, for it must be stated that he died possessed of few earthly goods, but in the manner in which he performed his duties as a man and member of the community.

"In any undertaking which had for its purpose the advancement of New Orleans, or the betterment of his fellow-man, John J. Rochester could be found in the forefront of the fight.

"He was truly a lover of man, as his every act proves. Slow to judgment, but quick in action when this was demanded, he tempered his course always with kindness and courtesy.

"To him, more than any other man or factor, can the Wholesale Drummers' Association be thankful for its years of progress and prosperity. No work was too much, no duty too arduous, for him to undertake in its behalf. No meeting found him absent from it.

"The warm clasp of his hand, the kindly gleam of his eye, are gone, but only as part of the order of this existence; they are not forgotten. His place will be hard to fill.

May his be the reward for faithful performance of duty, for living the righteous life; for helping make happy the life of others; for being a man among men."

To his bereaved wife and daughters (one of whom, Miss Jennie Rochester, is a member of this Society), we extend our most sincere sympathy, and ask that these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Association, on a page specially devoted thereto, that copies be sent to his family, and furnished to the press of New Orleans, and to the organizations herein named.

Respectfully submitted,

W. O. HART, Chairman;

HENRY RENSHAW,

T. P. THOMPSON.

ANNUAL REPORT OF TREASURER, LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—W. O. HART.

RECEIPTS, 1916.

January 1, 1916, bank balance.....	\$ 147.23
Receipts, membership fees.....	902.70

Total receipts.....\$1,049.93

DISBURSEMENTS, 1916.

Publication of annual report, Vol 8.....	\$ 171.00
Patriotic banquet expenses, January, 1916.....	194.15
Notices of meetings sent out.....	85.50
Services—clerical work and bookkeeping.....	82.50
Signs placed on Cabildo.....	55.00
Moving picture lecture.....	7.00
Lights, current, fuel, porter's fees, meetings.....	36.35
Mailing reports to members and exchanges.....	49.75
Postage, correspondence, bills, receipts.....	60.22
Stationery, printed matter and envelopes.....	53.35
Addressograph plates.....	3.14
Cashbox, with name.....	3.50
Exchange on checks.....	1.70
Photographs.....	1.50
Drayage on St. Louis Hotel corner-stone.....	1.00
Name plate and frame, Jackson flag.....	25.05
Jackson Day run prize cup.....	13.50
Carfares for veterans of Soldiers' Home.....	2.10
Lafayette Day celebration.....	26.50
Telegrams.....	6.84
Carfares and special car to Chalmette.....	6.70
Library, new books and express on exchanges.....	13.22

Total disbursements.....\$ 899.62

Total receipts.....\$1,049.93

Disbursements.....899.62

Balance Dec. 31.....\$ 150.31

REPORT OF ROBERT GLENK, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN.

The noteworthy activities and achievements of the Louisiana Historical Society for the year 1916 were as follows:

The ceremony in honor of the presentation of the Jefferson Troop Flag to the City of New Orleans on January 8, 1916, by the State of Illinois, by virtue of an act of the General Assembly of that state which was passed through the efforts of Mrs. J. B. Richardson of New Orleans, former president of the United Daughters of 1776 and 1812 of Louisiana, and of Mrs. Robert Hall Wiles of Illinois, now president national of the United States Daughters of 1812. The Adjutant General of Illinois delivered the flag to the National Society of Daughters of 1812, and Mrs. Wiles was delegated to make the presentation of the flag to the Mayor of New Orleans, the ceremony taking place in the Council Chamber of the City Hall. Mayor Behrman placed the flag in the custody of the United States Daughters of 1776-1812, and who, in turn, through Mrs. Richardson, turned over the flag to the Louisiana Historical Society, represented by President Cusachs, who deposited the same in the Battle Abbey.

On the evening of the same day, January 8, the annual reunion dinner of the Louisiana Historical Society took place in the gold room of the Grunewald Hotel, about 90 members and friends of the society participating. The excellent menu and well-filled program of speeches and singing were greatly enjoyed by all present. Mr. W. O. Hart acted as toastmaster of the occasion.

On September 6, the day set aside for a national celebration in honor of the birthday of Lafayette, the Louisiana Historical Society cooperating with the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, *Athenée Louisianais*, *L'Union Francaise*, *Société du Quatorze Juillet*; *Les Enfants de la France*, *Alliance France Louisianaise* and *Causeries du Lundi*, patriotic French societies of this city, and the Mayor and Commission Council took part in a reception at the Mayor's parlor; unveiled a bust of Lafayette at Lafayette square and carried out a very significant program of speeches and music at the Cabildo in the evening, which was attended by a large and brilliant gathering.

At the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Newark, N. J., on May 1, 1916, the following delegates represented the Louisiana Historical Society: Mr. and Mrs. Charles LeSassier, Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart, and Dr. Charles A. Browne.

MEETINGS AND LECTURES.

During the year nine regular meetings were held and three special lectures were given in the Cabildo, as follows:

1916

- January 7.—Motion picture and lecture, "Battle of New Orleans" and "Celebration in 1915," by Stanley C. Arthur.
- January 19.—Annual meeting. "Bienville and His Services to New Orleans," Mrs. S. B. Elder.
- February 16.—"Return of the Jesuits to Louisiana," by Rev. J. J. O'Brien.
- March 15.—"Notes on Gen. Wilkinson's Memorial and Miro and Navarro's Despatch No. 13," by Gilbert Pemberton.
- April 5.—"Origin and Evolution of the United States Flag," by R. G. Ballard Thruston, Louisville, Ky.
- April 19.—"The Opera in New Orleans," by Harry B. Loeb.
- May 17.—"General James Wilkinson," by Mr. James Wilkinson.
- June.—No meetings.
- July.—No meetings.
- August 3.—"A Voyage of Friendliness," by Elwood Lloyd of Chautauqua, N. Y.
- September 20.—"An Old Algiers Burying Ground," by W. S. Mahoney, and "The Bible in Louisiana a Century Ago," by W. O. Hart.
- October 18.—Estevan Miro's Report on the Boundary of the United States and Louisiana; British Officer's Account of the Expedition to Capture New Orleans in 1815, and some Claiborne Letters, read by Mr. Cusachs.
- November 15.—"The New Orleans Yturbide," by Miss Grace King.
- December 20.—"Baton Rouge, Its Past and Present," by Col. Isaac Dickson Wall of Baton Rouge.

The attendance at all of the meetings was quite satisfactory and indicates a live interest in the work of the Society by the members.

MEMBERSHIP.

Seventy-one applicants were elected to active membership in the Society—fifty-three gentlemen and eighteen ladies. Three were made honorary members.

During the year there were twenty-one resignations and thirteen deaths from among the members. The net increase in membership for 1916 is thirty-seven active, two honorary, making a total of five hundred and eighty-eight active members and fifteen honorary members on the roster of the Society on January 1, 1917.

It is with much sorrow that we record the death of the following active members of the Louisiana Historical Society during 1916.

GUSTAV REINHOLD WESTFELDT
 BERNARD BRUENN
 JOHN C. LEVY
 DR. E. W. JONES
 C. W. G. RARESHIDE
 F. A. DANIELS
 GEORGE H. SMITH
 J. G. HARRISON
 JOHN N. SCHROEDEL
 E. A. CARRERE
 E. P. ANDREE
 LOUIS N. BRUEGGERHOFF
 EDGAR T. LECHE

All the members in good standing receive the annual volume of the Society's Proceedings as soon as published. Those members who are in arrears receive the publication as soon as their dues are paid to the Treasurer. Volume Eight was published in April and Volume Nine is now being prepared for the printer by Miss Grace King and will shortly be issued.

During the session of the Legislature of 1916 the following act was passed providing for the printing of the Annual Reports and a quarterly Journal of History of the Louisiana Historical Society:

ACT No. 274.

Senate Bill No. 239.

By Mr. Leon R. Smith (by request).

AN ACT

Regarding the printing of the reports and journals of the Louisiana Historical Society.

Whereas, the Louisiana Historical Society which has existed for over three-quarters of a century, and under various acts of the General Assembly of Louisiana has been made the custodian of valuable and important documents relating to the history of the State of Louisiana while a French and Spanish province, said documents being at the disposal of the public and the State and having been used to advantage by the State in the great oyster litigation with the State of Mississippi, and in reference to lakes and water courses in the State and the publications and journals of said society being valuable to present and future historians, therefore,

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, That the Secretary of State be, and he is hereby directed to cause to be printed and delivered to said society one thousand copies of its yearly report and one thousand copies each of any journal that said society may desire to publish not oftener than once in every three months, the cost of said printing to be charged and paid for as other public printing of the State.

Section 2. Be it further enacted, etc., That should said society desire more than one thousand copies of each publication as herein provided for, it shall have the right to contract for same at its own expense with the public printer.

FERNAND MOUTON,

Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate.

HEWITT BOUANCHAUD,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Approved: July 6, 1916.

R. G. PLEASANT,

Governor of the State of Louisiana.

A true copy:

JAMES J. BAILEY,

Secretary of State.

The act was drafted by Mr. W. O. Hart and it was largely through his efforts that it was passed.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, Senator John Dymond and Robert Glenk were named a committee to take charge of the publication of the Quarterly Journal, and work on the same is now progressing. The first number will contain a report

of the Diary of Galvez during the War in West Florida; Information concerning the controversy regarding the boundary lines of Province of Texas and the Province of Louisiana from Zaca-tecas, Mexico, and an installment of the earliest records of the Superior Council of the Cabildo, translated by Mr. Wm. Price and edited by Miss Grace King.

LOANS AND GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY.

The following gifts have been received and deposited with the Society's collections in the Louisiana State Museum in the Cabildo, during 1916:

Dr. H. B. Seebold—Twelve pencil sketches of portraits, nineteen water-color sketches of views and buildings in old New Orleans.

William Edenborn—Builders' stone of old St. Louis Hotel, 1838.

O. M. Samuel—One Springfield rifle, found under floor of old St. Louis Hotel when being demolished in August, 1916.

Mrs. F. P. Hardenstein, Washington, D. C.—Photograph of Jos. H. Jones, faithful servant of Jefferson Davis (through W. O. Hart).

H. Duvalle—Old silk flag used by Continental Guards; handkerchief used by John L. Sullivan at prize fight at Richburg, Miss.

U. S. Daughters 1776-1812—Jefferson Troop flag, presented by State of Illinois to the City of New Orleans, Jan. 8, 1916.

Edward Curtis, San Francisco—Colonial silk flag, 13 stars, 13 stripes, with inscription, G. of L.

Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge—Copy of letter written by British officer after the Battle of New Orleans, 1815.

Southern Yacht Club—Lloyd canoe which made the trip from Chautauqua, N. Y., to New Orleans.

Chancellor of French Consulate—Loaned French flag.

Union Francaise—Loaned American and French flags.

School, 14th July—Loaned American and French flags.

Charles W. Alexander, Philadelphia—Two medals commemorating the visit of the Liberty Bell to New Orleans.

Mrs. D. A. S. Vaught—Biographical sketches and important official letters of Governor Gayle of Alabama, 1792-1858.

American Peace Centenary Committee, New York—The official Peace Medal.

Mr. W. O. Hart—Two medals worn on the occasion of the visit of the Liberty Bell in New Orleans; delegate's badge, National Democratic Convention, St. Louis, 1916; admission tickets to National Democratic Convention; flag (U. S.) used at opening exercises of convention, and woman's suffrage flag displayed at same convention; three tickets National Republican Convention, Chicago, 1916; program Helen Keller lecture, New Orleans, March, 1916; centennial program, American Bible Society; Law Student's Helper, Vol. 23 p. and 7; "Industry and Education," by D. S. Hill; Tracts Nos. 92, 94, 95, Western Reserve Historical Society; Report of Board of Commissioners on Uniform Legislation in U. S., 1916; official program Republican National Convention, 1916; Library Classification of History, Library of Congress; Americanization Day program, July 4, 1916; New Orleans booklet issued by Southern Pacific Railroad; tornado views of Omaha, Neb., 1913; badges, Lafayette celebration, Sept. 6, 1916; Lafayette book, by National Life Association; Yearbook, Empire State Society.

LIBRARY.

To the Library of the Society have been added 112 bound volumes, pamphlets and parts of volumes, making a total of 975 books and 2700 pamphlets on the shelves.

A list of publications received as gifts and exchanges follows:

Gifts and Exchanges.

American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, 1915-1916.

American Catholic Historical Society, Records, 1916.

Alliance Francaise, Bulletins, 1916.

Bangor Historical Society, Proceedings of Fiftieth Anniversary.

Chicago Historical Society, Annual Reports, 1915-1916; Jefferson Lemon Compact; Masters of the Wilderness, C. B. Reed.

Connecticut Historical Society, Annual Report, 1915.

Nattatuck Historical Society, President's Address, 1911-1913.

- New Haven Colony Historical Society, Bells, J. S. Hotchkiss.
 Smithsonian Institution, Proceedings Ninth Annual Conference
 of Historical Societies, 1914.
- Georgia Historical Society, Annals, 1915; Letters of Benjamin
 Hawkins.
- Illinois State Historical Society, Journal of the Illinois State
 Historical Society, 1915-16.
- Illinois State Historical Library, Publication 18; Transactions
 Illinois State Historical Society, 1912-1913.
- Indiana Historical Society, Indiana Magazine of History, Vols.
 9-11; Publications, Vol. 5.
- Historical Department of Iowa, Annals of Iowa, 1916.
- Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa Journal of History and Poli-
 tics, 1916; Bulletin of Information No. 7; Decisive Epi-
 sodes in Western History, L. S. Weldon.
- Kansas State Historical Society, Nineteenth Biennial Report.
- Kentucky State Historical Society, Arbor Day at the Capital, H.
 T. Stanford; Bibliography of Dr. Thomas E. Pickett;
 Boone-Bryan History, by Dr. J. D. Bryan; Catalogue of
 Prehistoric Relics, W. J. Curtis; Dick Johnson's Indian
 School; Proceedings, Kentucky State Historical Society;
 Boone Day; Register, 20 volumes.
- Walter L. Fleming, Baton Rouge, Deportation and Colonization,
 1914.
- John Dymond, Louisiana Planter, 1916.
- William O. Scroggs, Baton Rouge, Report on Archives of State
 of Louisiana.
- Maine Historical Society, Collections, vols. 17 to 22; Proceed-
 ings, 1914.
- Cambridge Historical Society, Publications, Vol. 8.
- Michigan Historical Commissioner, Bulletins 1-4; Third Annual
 Report; In Memory of J. McMillan.
- Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Historical Collections,
 Vols. 30 to 38; Index to Volumes 1 to 30; Report of Forty-
 first meeting.
- Thunder Bay Historical Society, Fifth and Sixth Annual Report.
- Minnesota Historical Society, Bulletin, Vol. 1; Collections, Vol.
 15; Eighteenth Biennial Report.

- Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings, 1915;
Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 1916.
- Missouri Historical Society, Collections, Vol. 4.
- State Historical Society of Missouri, Missouri Historical Review,
Vols. 9 and 10; Biennial Reports, 1914-1915.
- Nebraska State Historical Society, Collections, Vol. 17; Nebraska
Constitutional Convention, Vol. 3.
- New Hampshire Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. 2.
- Vineland Historical Antiquarian Society, Reports, 1913-1915;
Religious Forces in History of Vineland.
- New Jersey Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. 10.
- Long Island Historical Society, Handbook, 1914-1915.
- New York Historical Society, Collections, 1912-1915; Memorial
of Col. Andrew Warner, 1913; Catalog of the Gallery of
Art, 1915; Catalog of Egyptian Antiquities, 1915.
- New York State Historical Association, Proceedings, Vols. 12-14.
- Schenectady County Historical Society, Yearbook, 1914.
- North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin 5.
- North Carolina Historical Society, James Sprunt Historical Pub-
lications, Vol. 13-15.
- Oklahoma Historical Society, Historia, Vols. 4-6.
- Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Quarterly Publica-
tion, Vol. 1-10.
- Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, Poems on Ohio, 1911;
Annual Report, 1914; History of American Indians, D. Zeis-
berger; Publications, Vols. 1-25.
- Western Reserve Historical Society, Tract Nos. 92, 93, 94, 95;
Manual, 1916.
- Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, Proceedings,
1914-1915.
- Rhode Island Historical Society, Charter and By-Laws, 1913-
1914; Report of Committee on Marking Sites.
- Tennessee Historical Society, Tennessee Historical Magazine,
1916.
- Texas State Historical Association, Southwestern Historical
Quarterly, Vols. 17-19.
- University of Texas, History Teachers' Bulletins 45, 69.

- R. G. Ballard Thruston, Louisville, regimental colors of War of the Revolution.
- Rocky Mountain Herald, Denver, 1916 issues.
- W. H. Hannon, New Orleans, the Photo Drama.
- Vermont Historical Society, Proceedings, 1915.
- Washington University State Historical Society, Washington Historical Quarterly, 1916.
- Wisconsin State Historical Society, Collections, Vols. 1 to 21.
- Filson Club, Louisville, Ky., Lopez's Expedition to Cuba, 1850-1851.
- Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C., Report, 1916.
- Louisiana Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. 8.

MATTERS OF GENERAL INTEREST.

In order to afford ready access to the subject matter contained in these publications, 950 index cards have been made by the librarian and filed.

Nothing further has been done regarding the indexing of the Records of the Superior Council of the Cabildo since Mr. Price left. Of the indexes prepared by him of the documents dating 1719-1760, it is planned to arrange them for publication in the Society's Quarterly Journal as soon as they can be gotten in shape. Miss Grace King has undertaken this work voluntarily.

Relative to the catalogue of documents in the archives and library of Paris pertaining to the history of the Mississippi Valley, for which the Society, in March, 1914, appropriated \$200 as its prorata, nothing has been heard or received. The first important work undertaken was completed and is awaiting publication by either the Illinois or Michigan Historical commissions.

Continuing the work begun at the time of the celebration of the Centennial of the Battle of New Orleans, data and names regarding the soldiers who fought under General Jackson are still being collected in order to complete the records.

In commemoration of Huard des Monettes, who was a grenadier at the battle, a brass name-plate has been placed on the Cabildo walls, calling attention to this fact.

During the past summer a forty-foot gilt letter sign, reading, "Louisiana Historical Society," was placed on the front of the Cabildo and smaller signs at the entrance to the building and to the Society's room.

ADMINISTRATIVE WORK.

The administrative work performed by the Corresponding Secretary consisted of:

Writing business letter.....	300
Written notices announcing election to membership.....	74
Letters written in connection with library work.....	84
Notices sent out for monthly meetings.....	7200
Publications mailed to members and exchanges.....	750
Envelopes addressed for committees.....	1800
Corrections and additions to addressograph plates.....	133

Supplementing this report is given the list of officers and committee memberships of the Society and the names of new members elected in 1916.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT GLENK.

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MR. GASPAR CUSACHS.....	President
MR. JOHN DYMOND.....	First Vice-President
MR. T. P. THOMPSON.....	Second Vice-President
JUDGE HENRY RENSHAW.....	Third Vice-President
MR. W. O. HART.....	Treasurer
MISS GRACE KING.....	Recording Secretary
MR. ROBERT GLENK.....	Corresponding Secretary-Librarian

COMMITTEES.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Gaspar Cusachs, chairman; John Dymond, T. P. Thompson, Henry Renshaw, William O. Hart, Miss Grace King, and Robert Glenk.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.

Col. H. J. de la Vergne, chairman; Miss Emma Zacharie, George Koppel.

FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Justin F. Denechaud, chairman; Henry M. Gill, Sebastian Roy.

WORK AND ARCHIVES COMMITTEE.

Gaspar Cusachs, chairman; Grace King, Robert Glenk, William O. Hart, T. P. Thompson and A. B. Booth.

MEMBERSHIP.**HONORARY MEMBERS.**

Rev. A. Gordon Bakewell	Baron de Pontalba
Prof. E. L. Berthoud	Prof. Franklin L. Riley
Senor Juan Ant. Cavestany	Mr. Henry Vignaud
Capt. T. J. Woodward	Mr. Albert Voorhies
Hon. Murphy J. Foster	Mrs. Josephine Clay
Mr. Peter J. Hamilton	Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart
David I. Bushnell, Jr.	

NEW MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1916.

Mrs. E. H. Clogston, 3004 Prytania street.
 Emile V. Stier, Daily States Office.
 C. E. Bray, Orpheum Theatre.
 J. Fair Hardin, Leesville, La.
 Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., L. S. U., Baton Rouge, La.
 Joseph C. Behre, 1216 Royal street.
 John L. Henning, Union Sulphur Co., Sulphur, La.
 John P. Mayo, Commissioner of Immigration, New Orleans.
 Mrs. Marie Seebold Molinary, 2322 Canal street.
 P. Sefton Schneidau, 213 Hennen building.
 Miss Mary M. Conway, Amelia and Dryades streets.
 Mrs. M. F. Rice, 2824 Canal street.
 Mrs. M. E. Dunlap, 403 Perrin building.
 M. Picheloup, 1487 Moss street.
 H. J. Gassie, 711 Hennen building.
 Wyman Hoey, 315 Camp street.
 F. Ralph Michel, 410 Weis building.
 Dr. Howard W. Hamblin, 1104 Fairmount street, Washington, D. C.

H. R. Labouisse, 1544 Webster street.
 Isaac J. Fowler, 8401 Panola street.
 Alfred LeBlanc, 814 Gravier street.
 Rev. J. A. Petit, 423 Valette street.
 R. N. Sims, 310 New Orleans Court House.
 Edward S. Luria, 410 Weis building.
 B. P. Davidson, 1905 State street.
 Coleman E. Adler, 722 Canal street.
 J. W. Craddock, Hennen building annex.
 C. B. Brown, New Orleans Country Club.
 Rev. P. M. H. Wynhoven, 305 Camp street.
 Mrs. Charles LeSassier, 44 West 22d street, New York.
 Mr. Charles LeSassier, 44 West 22d street, New York.
 Samuel A. Trufant, Jr., 1241 Philip street.
 John Bernard Murphy, U. S. Immigration building.
 Edw. C. Palmer, 435 Camp street.
 Dr. H. B. Seebold, 222 Macheca building.
 Miss Venetia Torre, 8215 Pritchard Place.
 H. H. White, Alexandria, La.
 Edwin S. Ferguson, 849 Commerce street.
 Frank C. Fegley, 607 Nashville avenue.
 Mrs. Benjamin S. Story, 7431 St. Charles avenue.
 Clarence F. Low, L., L. & G. Insurance Co.
 Very Rev. F. Racine, St. Louis Cathedral.
 C. A. Hartwell, 213 Baronne street.
 Mrs. W. B. Thayer, 4570 Warwick Boulevard, Kansas City,
 Missouri.
 Miss Elizabeth Pinckard, 2621 Prytania street.
 Louis J. Hennessey, Association of Commerce building.
 Miss Emilie De Lavigne, 2309 Columbus street.
 Roger Arnault, 727 Common street.
 J. T. Buddecke, 401 Hibernia building.
 James Wilkinson, 137 Carondelet street.
 G. A. Foster, Pollock, La.
 R. W. Frame, 535 Poydras street.
 Abraham Goldberg, Hibernia building.
 Mrs. Emilie Lejeune, 1619 South Rampart street.
 Miss Anne D. Nesom, 1772 Prytania street.
 Dr. L. M. Provosty, Macheca building.
 A. T. Terry, 139 Carondelet street.
 Mrs. James Wilkinson, 1325 Esplanade avenue.
 Charles J. Rivet, 727 Common street.
 Mrs. J. E. Friend, 1807 Palmer avenue.
 Miss Blanche McConnell, 1313 Eighth street.
 L. D. Sampsell, 4908 Camp street.

Mrs. S. LeBourgeois Green, 1212 Valence street.
 Rev. J. J. O'Brien, 6363 St. Charles avenue.
 Mrs. Alfred Webre, 1212 Valence street.
 Dr. Joseph Holt, 2120 Prytania street.
 Mr. Harry B. Loeb, 1520 Seventh street.
 Mr. Palmer Davidson, 1905 State street.
 Mr. John J. Gannon, Hibernia building.
 Mr. Gilbert Pemberton, New Orleans.
 Mr. Robert Rebentisch, 915 Nashville avenue.

PUBLICATIONS

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